NRA U.S. CODE

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXIX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1934 No. 3604

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 113
EDITORIALS:
The West Coast Goes Red-Hunting 126
The Publishers Point with Pride 117
Little Magazines 117
Morals for Men 118
ISSUES AND MEN. HITLER'S "ME UND GOTT." By Oswald Garrison Villard 119
CARTOON: ON THE WAR-PATH. By LOW 120
SAN FRANCISCO: AN AUTOPSY ON THE GENERAL STRIKE. By Miriam Allen De Ford 121
WISCONSIN'S NEW PARTY. By Harold M. Groves 122
"IT AIN'T NO SIN!" By James Rorty 124
GEORGIA SUPPRESSES INSURRECTION. By Walter Wilson . 127
YOUNG RUSSIA AT PLAY. By Louis Fischer 128
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 130
CORRESPONDENCE 130
BOOKS AND MUSIC:
To a Snake in Eden. By Evelyn Scott 133
The Log-Book of a Soul. By Katharine Anthony 133
Facts—and Facts. By Ernest Gruening 134
The Bush Negro of Dutch Guiana. By Edward Sapir 135
German Socialism Still Lives. By Reinhold Niebuhr 135
Shorter Notices 136
Music: "The Most Faustian Art." By Kenneth Burke 138
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 140

BOARD OF EDITORS
FREDA KIRCHWEY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
ASSOCIATE EDITORS
MARGARET MARSHALL DOROTHY VAN DOREN

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States; to Canada, $5.50; and to other foreign countries, $6.00.

THE NATION. Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., and under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1934, by The Nation, Inc.; Oswald Garrison Villard, Publisher. Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. British Agent, Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London W. C. 1, England. Cable Address: Nation, New York.

VIOLATIONS of the due processes of law and incitement to organized violence against the community reached a new high mark in the San Francisco general strike. But those responsible were neither aliens nor agitators. A list of the guilty elements would include the San Francisco Industrial Association, the Committee of Five Hundred, General Hugh S. Johnson, Frank F. Merriam, governor of the State of California, miscellaneous "vigilantes," and the constituted authorities of the City of San Francisco. *The Nation* strongly indorses the protest of the Committee for Workers' Rights, representing a united front of the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, the General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, against the officially sanctioned lawlessness which is still going on in California where self-appointed "vigilantes" have gone so far as to invade private homes. The committee has also sent a letter to Secretary of Labor Perkins protesting against her telegram to Governor Merriam in which she assured him of the cooperation of the federal government in the deportation of aliens illegally in this country and outlined the legal basis for such deportations. Under Secretary Perkins's Administration, the abuses of the deportation law have greatly decreased. She has been so insistent on a strictly legal interpretation of the law, in fact, that she has brought down upon her head the violent protests of those who consider the statute an effective political weapon. In the light of this record, it is quite possible that her telegram, with its special emphasis on the legal procedure required in cases of deportation, was designed to have a sobering effect upon hysterical State officials. But there can be no doubt that in the setting in which it appeared it gave aid and comfort to the red-hunters of California.

IN ANY FRACAS the innocent bystander is often a better reporter than the professional correspondent or the active participant. Some of the most revealing details of the labor struggle on the Coast have come to us in informal letters from unofficial observers—like the following sentences taken by us from the letter of an occasional contributor:

> Hell has busted loose in California. . . . The newspapers, ranging from the out-and-out reactionary to even the liberal Scripps-Howard, are unanimous on one particular thing, "Get the Reds." . . . On July 18, 19, and 20, spectacular raids on all known places of Communist assembly were staged in San Francisco, Oakland, San José, Hayward, and other places. Similar raids are in preparation . . . in Los Angeles, Sacramento, and other towns where the Communists have organizations. Thousands have been arrested and thrown in the city bastille, many of whom were badly maltreated by the police and deputized Legionnaires—the Workers' Center in Oakland, which I visited immediately after the raid, was blood-spattered from wall to wall; the stairway that led to the street was actually slippery with coagulated blood.
>
> I am not a Communist—yet; but I was pinched and jugged while visiting the wrecked Communist center described, held in solitary confinement for forty-eight hours, fingerprinted, mugged, and third-degreed; all at the whim of a power-drunk chief of police.
>
> That these acts of suppression will result in driving the Communist Party underground . . . no one in his right mind can deny. California can no more meet the red menace by violence than could Hitler; meanwhile, let us recognize it for what it is—fascism, pure and simple. . . .

AN AGENT of the Winchester Arms Company came to Bridgeton, New Jersey, one day last week and demonstrated for more than a hundred farmers—self-styled vigilantes—the latest in tear-gas bombs, tear-gas pistols, rifles, and submachine guns. This interesting exhibition, attended also by police from several South Jersey towns, was held with the avowed intention of preparing the farmers for "labor trouble." It took place the day after twelve farmers had been named "minute men" to supervise the driving of all "reds" from the State, and a few days after the field and cannery workers at the Seabrook Farms, charging that the agreement which ended their recent strike was already being violated, had threatened to go out again. This new spirit of revolt among hitherto passive farm hands has in it the makings of a general farm strike in this important truck-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

farm area, upon which Philadelphia is largely dependent for food, and it is evident that the farm employers will stop at nothing, not even murder, to prevent this. It was these same farmers who, by creating a reign of terror in which strikers' homes were damaged and strikers themselves beaten or threatened, smashed the Seabrook strike. It was they who, as special deputy sheriffs, provoked the bloody fighting of the strike. And now they have announced their intention of supervising the registration of all farm and cannery workers by the United States Reemployment Service, and of weeding out all those with "communist leanings." This development is in line with the red scares in San Francisco, the Imperial Valley, and the onion fields of Ohio, and with the revival of the Ku Klux Klan with its goal of "eradication of alien and radical thought in industry." It is apparent that something has been started which points to trouble ahead.

FOLLOWING THE FIRST PICKETING in this country of a newspaper plant by editorial workers of other papers, and the consequent recognition of the American Newspaper Guild by the *Long Island Press,* the Guild is on the threshold of another victory in Philadelphia, scene of its first, and thus far only, closed-shop contract. As this issue goes to press, reporters, rewritemen, and copy-readers of the *Evening Public Ledger* are voting for their representatives in collective bargaining, as ordered by the regional labor board, and there can be small doubt that the Guild will win, despite the recent dismissal of several of its most active and militant members. The *Ledger,* one of the two relics of the once-extensive Cyrus H. K. Curtis newspaper properties, has long been almost Chicago *Tribune*-ish in its anti-labor stand, and a victory for the Guild here is doubly impressive. But the interesting thing both in Jamaica and in Philadelphia are not the victories themselves but the manner in which they were won. These tactics of picketing and demanding rights are labor-union tactics, forced upon the Guild after its previous position of "professionalism" proved ineffectual. That they are efficient and wholly commendable tactics is apparent, despite the indignation of *Editor and Publisher,* the injured feelings of Arthur Brisbane, and the polite sneering of the *Herald Tribune.* The Guild has gone to the left and is the stronger for it.

DESPITE the best efforts of Governor Lehman, reapportionment—Congressional, State Senatorial, and State Assembly—is as far away as ever in New York. Apportionment has been the football of partisan politics since the first gerrymander. Residents of New York are still electing members of Congress and of the legislature on the basis of the population distribution of twenty years ago, nor is New York by any means the only sinner in this respect. Reapportionment of the national Congress had to wait twenty years, and when finally accomplished the changed sentiment of the country was revealed with a whoop when a predominantly dry House was changed into a wet one—wet by three to one. But this reapportionment was by State units only, and few of the populous States have redrawn their Congressional districts according to present population. The situation in New York is peculiar. While electing governors by pluralities running close to the million mark, the Democrats are prevented by the very Constitution from controlling the legislature. Small rural counties like that lately represented by Senator Warren T. Thayer of the power trust have equal representation with city districts of 100,000 population. Speaker McGinnies is another idol of the cross-roads. Every county under the Constitution is entitled to at least one Assemblyman, yet the whole number is limited to 150. The Senate of 51 members is supposedly elected by population, yet aliens are not counted as people and the Constitution expressly forbids New York and Kings, the two most populous counties, to have a majority of the Senate. During Democratic landslides it is possible for the Democrats to win the Senate by a margin of one, as at present, but virtually never the Assembly. Their best chance since 1912 was kicked away by National and State Chairman Farley when he intervened in the city mayoralty campaign.

BUT NEITHER TAMMANY nor the Republicans want an honest reapportionment, the G. O. P. because it would strike at its rotten-borough citadels up-State and Tammany because it would reduce its quota of legislators at Washington and Albany to the benefit of Kings, Queens, and Bronx counties. The present Republican bill would add two Congressional districts (two members now being elected at large) in the safe G. O. P. territory of Westchester, Nassau, and Monroe, and deprive Tammany Manhattan of four full districts and parts of two others. If passed by the Republican Assembly and the Republican Senate minority with the aid of Queens votes, it would certainly be vetoed by the Governor. On the other side, the Democrats at this writing have brought forth no reapportionment scheme at all. The Republicans now have only sixteen of New York's forty-five Congressmen, and hopes of gaining two by the changes outlined. No bills for legislative reapportionment had been introduced at this writing, despite the pleadings of Governor Lehman. The Senate districts are drawn by the legislature, while the Assembly district lines are drawn by the Board of Aldermen or other local legislative bodies. The extent to which gerrymanders enter into this business is obvious. The crying need is for all this to be taken out of politics, and all Congressional and legislative districts to be drawn according to population by boards of non-partisan experts, but so obvious a solution as that is doubtless reserved for the millennium. Meanwhile we shall continue to be plagued with petty politics of the type now being displayed at Albany, and hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers will continue to suffer taxation without representation.

SOON AFTER Hitler's carnival of murder on June 30, those familiar with the mental processes of the German Nazis voiced the suspicion that the murderers had used this opportunity to rid themselves of those who knew too much concerning the origin of the Reichstag fire. Others charged specifically that Chief of Staff Ernst of the Berlin SA and his wife, and Heines, the blackguard Chief of Police of Breslau, had been wiped off the face of the earth for the role they played on that night of February, 1933. These suspicions have just been confirmed by the *Daily Herald* (London), which publishes the story of an alleged fugitive SA man in Switzerland, one Kruse, servant of Ernst Roehm, who claims to be "the last surviving member of the Reichstag fire gang." SA troopers who escaped to the Saar three weeks ago vouch for the existence of an SA man of Kruse's name and detachment, but profess ignorance of his present whereabouts. It

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is too early to vouch for the truth of this SA man's disclosures. Until they have been adequately investigated one must receive them with the necessary reservations. This much is certain, however, that they offer the most convincing explanation for both the Reichstag episode and the events of June 30 that has yet come to our notice. The mass of apparently unassailable detail and the fact that his description of what happened on that occasion tallies so closely with the crime as reconstructed by noted criminologists in possession of the important facts in the case; his description of van der Lubbe as the dupe of the unscrupulous Goering, and the provocative behavior of Ernst and Roehm during the Leipzig trial—all taken together give a picture of that event which the supporters of the Hitler regime will find it difficult to refute. The jurists' International Committee for the Investigation of the Origin of the Reichstag Fire should be urged to resume its activity at once by summoning Kruse and others who can vouch for his identity to the witness stand.

FREDERICK T. BIRCHALL'S dispatch to the New York *Times* of July 22, telling of the efforts of several well-meaning American bankers to solve the immediate fiscal problem of the Reich is little short of fantastic. These bankers include James H. Perkins, of the National City Bank, Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Company, and George H. Harrison, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. They, like the British Montagu Norman, are not of the opinion that the catastrophe can be averted. They do hope, however, to stave off a too sudden collapse of Germany's economy lest a new financial tidal wave shake the precarious balance of the world markets, bringing French, British, and American investments crashing down about their luckless ears. The banks which these gentlemen represent are concerned to the extent of two and a half billion marks, in short-term credits alone and the interest on them. "So far," says Mr. Birchall, "this money has been earning a fair profit by being used for the financing of imports and exports." But a collapse of Germany's money market would not only devaluate German and municipal bonds, involving American investors to the tune of almost four billion dollars; it would knock the bottom out of industrial values as well, leaving the American financiers and investors holding the bag. Financial interests in London are inveighing against the proposed granting of further credits. It may be that the American bankers will decide otherwise. To our lay minds, to be sure, it seems unthinkable that these shrewd financial wizards should be considering throwing good money after bad.

AGAIN FRANCE is hovering on the verge of a crisis. Herriot and Tardieu—the liberal and conservative antipodes in the Doumergue Cabinet—are threatening each other with vengeance and destruction and the weak structure of the present government bids fair to crack under the impact of their blows. The veterans who, in their June convention, decided with a majority of two votes to "tolerate the present Cabinet until the middle of August," will grasp the opportunity with joy to throw the full weight of their influence into the scales for a "thorough-going revision of the Constitution" to replace the hodge-podge Cabinet with a unified and consciously reactionary regime. In this highly critical situation the report that Socialists and Communists in France have united on what might be called a non-aggression pact for mutual protection and defense is of the greatest significance. The two parties have agreed to refrain from mutual recriminations and attacks and to make the agreement the basis for a united anti-fascist campaign. It was high time that something of this sort should be done to prevent a repetition of the German debacle where Communists and Socialists clutched at each other's throats, leaving it to the fascist aggressor to carry off the spoils. Since last February the pros and cons of a united front have been discussed from every angle in the various groups of the French labor movement. For a time it seemed as if the Communist Party, which, as usual, tried to win the followers of the non-Communist organizations for a united front instead of directing its appeal to the organizations themselves, would defeat every serious effort toward united action by its intransigent attitude. But the Communist International seems to have realized the hopelessness of securing unity on these terms and quite suddenly decided to approach the Socialist Party and the trade unions of France with acceptable proposals. The response was immediate. The National Council of the S. P. expressed its approval of the plan outlined by the Comintern and a committee in which the two parties and the trade unions are equally represented is already at work. We are optimistic enough to believe that the reconciliation so auspiciously begun will be a lasting one. The organized masses on both sides want constructive and immediate action and will make short work of the irreconcilables in their respective camps. They have seen too much of the sufferings of the German workers to permit this new anti-fascist phalanx to be wilfully destroyed.

THE EMBARGO on the importation of arms to the Chaco does not seem to be entirely successful—to put it mildly. It is reported that $600,000 worth of American-made planes, part of a two-million dollar order, is about to be shipped to Bolivia. The Paraguyan Minster to the United States, Dr. Enrique Bordenave, has protested the proposed shipment, among other reasons because the American legation at Asuncion may be destroyed by bombs dropped from the planes. It is stated that the order was placed before the embargo was laid, which may very likely be true; but as far back as May 28 an article in the Santiago (Chile) *Nacion* declared that it was too late to impose an embargo on arms because both Paraguay and Bolivia were amply supplied with munitions for their Chaco war. That the arms manufacturers were sharp in detecting a possible suppression of business in this particular quarter and that they hastened to make sure of orders that would carry the war on for some time may be reflected in the announcement that the E. I. duPont de Nemours Company has increased the values of its shares, in the first six months of 1934, from $1.03 to $1.86, a gain of more than 80 per cent. Business is looking up, in short, not only in the Chaco, of course, but in several other parts of the world. And the customers continue to find themselves in a position to place still more orders; a Paraguyan war communiqué for the week of July 9 announced that the Bolivians had lost 3,000 killed and had suffered as many additional casualties in wounded, and that 50 machine guns, 1,000 rifles, 1 mortar, more than 1,000,000 cartridges, and 1,200 grenades had been captured. In the grim business of hastening death there is no depression.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The West Goes Red Hunting

THE San Francisco general strike has not only disintegrated; it has dissolved into an orgy of red-hunting. Vigilantes perpetrate raids on the headquarters of "leftist" labor organizations. Police follow, mopping up the victims instead of arresting the raiders. The business community indulges itself in the emotional orgy of an anti-communist crusade.

Only a few rays of light penetrate the gloom. Despite pressure by the Industrial Association, martial law will not be declared. Thus organized labor has been saved from a reign of military terror. Moreover, the shipowners have finally agreed to join the waterfront employers in submitting to the arbitration of the National Longshoremen's Board. By thus yielding to the marine-workers' united front, the shipowners have cleared the way for a settlement. But the settlement will be lasting only if it goes to the root of the trouble: control of the hiring system by employers who are determined to stifle the A. F. of L. unions—International Longshoremen's Association, International Seamen's Union, and so on—together with the T. U. U. L. Marine Workers' Industrial Union.

The temper of the authorities makes this a dubious hope. Both Mayor Rossi and Governor Merriam stood ready to crush the strike by calling in the police and the troops. General Johnson was on hand to incite to riots, lynchings, and mass deportations. According to the General, the strike was "civil war" and "bloody insurrection" engineered by the reds, and "responsible labor organizations" ought to "run these subversive elements out from its ranks like rats"; if the federal government did not act, the people of San Francisco ought to take the law in their own hands and put down the communists. Finally, the General thought it was a good idea to make jobs for American workingmen by sending these alien marine workers back where they came from. Most shameful of all, William Green made himself a party to the strike-breaking. He disclaimed all A. F. of L. responsibility for the walkout, which he said was "unauthorized." Washing his hands of the matter, he threw back the responsibility on the heads of the local union leaders. Technically, no doubt, Mr. Green was correct; the A. F. of L. did not call the strike; but it was not an "outlaw" walkout in the A. F. of L. legalistic sense; all steps taken were regular and constitutional. Mr. Green's statement, therefore, was superfluous if it was not actually treacherous. It had no other purpose than to stimulate sentiment against the rank and file who had forced the strike in opposition to their conservative leaders. At the same time that Mr. Green was helping to deliver the workers into the hands of their enemies, Mr. Ryan, president of the I. L. A., also played the strike-breaking game. This he did by conjuring up the red menace; by maintaining that the strike would have been settled long since had it not been for the machinations of communist elements. It can be said to Mr. Ryan's credit, however, that he at least suggested that the workers were striking for something, and that the die-hard attitude of the employers was a factor in the trouble.

Notwithstanding the collapse in San Francisco, labor is still on the warpath throughout the country. The whole Pacific Coast continues to perch on a volcano, which threatens to erupt unless the San Francisco dock strike is settled on terms satisfactory to the workers. In Portland, union workers are contemplating a general boycott and "passive resistance" in the Gandhi tradition. Senator Wagner's peace efforts in that city are in danger of being undone, because Governor Meier has seen fit to mobilize the Oregon National Guard for riot duty. In Seattle, the police, using tear-gas bombs, have broken the blockade long maintained by pickets at the municipal docks. Mayor Smith is here to blame, for he put himself at the head of the police, replacing Police Chief Howard who saw no need for opening the port by force. The greatest danger to the peace of the Pacific Coast is not that the striking workers will lose their heads; it is that the police and troops will get out of hand, engage in union-smashing, and drive the workers to despair.

In Minneapolis, a two-day truce was declared in the truck-drivers' walkout after the police opened rifle-fire on a crowd of pickets who attempted to stop trucks moving under armed escort. One picket was killed, and at least fifty persons were wounded by police bullets. As we write, the convoying of trucks by armed guards has been resumed. In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, the strikers have to contend not only against armed forces but against their national union officers as well. The Minneapolis walkout has been anathema to Mr. Tobin and his cohorts in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. "The reds are to blame for this," they say, and thus they make it harder for the workers to achieve their end, in this case forcing the employers to live up to the settlement of late May.

Yet the labor unrest from below continues to grow in the face of police and troops, and notwithstanding betrayal by misleaders of labor. In Alabama, from 13,000 to 20,000 cotton-textile workers have walked out; twenty-seven mills have closed down. The United Textile Workers of America, the union behind the strike, asks for "recognition"; a thirty-hour week at a minimum rate of $12; and above all for abolition of the "stretch-out" and "speed-up." For once, the Cotton Textiles National Industrial Relations Board has failed to smother the revolt which has been brewing since the summer of 1933. In Montana, the strike of the copper miners affiliated with the International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers remains in force. This strike aims at winning concessions in wages, hours, and working conditions that the copper code failed to convey to the miners. In metropolitan New York, a harbor tie-up threatens; and the knit-goods workers, led by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, are ready to walk out to enforce their demands for a classified wage scale. Even in idyllic Kohler, Wisconsin, the workers are striking against the benevolent dictatorship of the former governor of the State. And there are new rumblings among the iron-and-steel workers.

In short, labor everywhere in the land is striving to collect the promissory note of Section 7-a. If this disrupts the roseate dreams of the New Dealers, they have nobody to blame but themselves.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Publishers Point with Pride

RADICAL critics of our capitalist economy and culture have long contended that the apparatus of our daily and periodical press constitutes the most strategically placed as well as one of the most reactionary vested interests in America. This contention is impressively confirmed by a bulletin issued on July 16 by the National Publishers Association from which the following excerpts are taken:

> This has been a most unusual year in the publishing field and the National Publishers' Association has due cause to be proud of its operations during this year in the interests of the entire publishing industry.
>
> *Wagner Labor Bill.* This legislation would have been very costly to all publishers whether or not they operate their own printing plant. We took a very active part in killing this legislation.
>
> *Tugwell Pure Food and Drug Bill.* As originally proposed, this legislation would have been a serious blow to all advertising. Your committee and executives were finally successful in modifying this legislation.
>
> *Unemployment Insurance.* This bill provided for a tax of 5 per cent on all payrolls. Its seriousness speaks for itself, and your representatives aided in preventing its passage.

Among the directors of the N. P. A. responsible for this patriotic, forward-looking, inter-office communication is one Malcolm Muir of the McGraw Hill Publishing Company, and formerly one of the administrators in charge of heavy machinery codes. Others are Roy Larsen of *Time,* P. S. Collins of the Curtis Publishing Company, Merle Thorpe of the *Nation's Business,* S. R. Latshaw of the Butterick Publishing Company, William B. Warner of *McCall's,* and A. D. Mayo of the Crowell Publishing Company.

It was to gentlemen of this ilk, and to activities of this character that the President and the Secretary of Agriculture paid homage when, at the recent convention of the American Federation of Advertisers, they praised the patriotism and passion for truth of the ad-men. It was statesmen of this caliber that General Johnson was honoring when he said, in his address to the Pacific Coast Association of Advertising Clubs:

> He [the advertising man] must have an insight into the manufacture of the article he is to write the copy for. He must know the resistance to be met in prospective sales; he must know his market. In a word, in this great country he must know the temper and mind of the American people, and when a man knows that he is a statesman—no less. Do you know that in selling the draft we were told that it could not be done—that the Anglo-Saxon race would not stand for conscription. It had failed in England and three times here—but we did it. How? By pure publicity. . . . The sculptor works in plastic clay, the artist in paints, the author in words, but your material is human minds and emotions—a far more delicate and fleeting thing. You are artists or you are not good advertising men. Well, statesmen and artists—NRA needs your help.

Just how much help these "statesmen and artists" contributed toward furthering the objectives of the New Deal is indicated by the N. P. A. bulletin already quoted. Besides being a spouting vulgarian, General Johnson has the characteristic ad-man's gift of self-hypnosis, which, when consistently cultivated, produces highly dangerous charlatans and psychopaths. They are among the most effective disseminators of moral, ethical, and economic balderdash and confusion, the most diligent breeders of mass moronism in America. They are the loud-speakers of our emerging industrial feudalism; not our masters, but certainly our masters' bullying and cozening voices.

In a recent issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* we see the statesmanship and artistry of the ad-man-editor applied to the exceedingly practical task of immunizing his readers against any future attempt to pass the consumer legislation which the N. P. A. boasts proudly of having defeated. The following is quoted from a chaste little editorial entitled Musings of Mrs. Consumer:

> The way some folks still go on talking about the "forgotten consumer" and the "forgotten buyer" is funny. If being steadily in the spotlight, with controversy raging over our poor neglected state, with government departments being rapidly set up for our protection—if that is being forgotten, then I've forgotten my own name. If the brain-trusters really succeeded in getting a people's forum, the people would probably have something to say about taxes—when they found out how much it cost them to be saved. . . . Possibly government needs cleaning up as much as advertising. . . . Perhaps there is as much misuse of power in one case as in the other—and with as much ultimate harm to us consumers.

When Congress adjourned without passing even Senator Copeland's emasculated version of the Tugwell bill, Secretary Tugwell wrote a consoling letter to the personnel of the Food and Drug Administration. "I wish to assure all of you," he said, "that the efforts of the Administration to secure a satisfactory law have not ended. They have only begun. . . . Sooner or later we shall have a satisfactory law under which to work in our efforts to protect the consumer."

Sooner or later, one might add, the Administration, if it really desires to protect the consumer, will have to do battle with the publishers, and with the thus far unrebuked effrontery of the advertising "statesmen" and "artists."

Little Magazines

THE correlation and interpretation of statistics is a fascinating sport. For example, we learn from the church statisticians that, as the curve of car-loadings goes down, the curve of religious conversions rises. Whereas a number of analysts have shown that strikes signalize the tail-end of a business depression: as business responds, feebly enough, to the pump-priming efforts of the NRA, labor retorts with a spreading wave of militant strikes.

Somewhere in this worm-tangle of statistical curves is a thin line indicating the rise and fall in the production of "little" magazines. The data is incomplete, but two things may be said with some confidence about this line. First, it is today a red line—most of the dozens of new little magazines that have sprung up during the depression are radical-to-revolutionary in their politico-social and esthetic philosophy; many of them are Communist in sponsorship and control. Second, the little-red-magazine curve correlates inversely with the drop in circulation and influence of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commercial periodical press. There is a third conclusion about which one can be somewhat less confident: the possibility that the apparatus of publication developed to serve the left political and literary formations may become a permanent, self-sufficient entity, rather than a training ground for young writers who expect to graduate eventually into the "quality-group" magazines, the women's magazines, or the *Saturday Evening Post*. This would amount to a kind of cultural secession, in which a new revolutionary class culture is precipitated out of the weakening social solvent of our "democracy"—a new culture with its own values, its own audiences, and its own means of production and communication.

This, of course, is a favorable statement of the tendency. But many of these publications are highly creditable and some of them look viable. For example, the well-edited *Social Work Today*, a bi-monthly now in its third issue, has effectively represented the radical wing of the social workers and, in view of the enlargement of the public-relief apparatus, seems likely to establish itself permanently. One would like to say as much for the *Monthly Review*, a magazine for professional workers which represents an attempt by Communist fellow-travelers to reach the increasing number of professional people whose financial and social status has been undermined by the depression—that pool of frustrated and desperate humanity in which the Italian and German fascists fished so successfully. Unfortunately, Mr. Koven, Mr. Johnson, and his associates got off to a highly defensive, introverted, and sectarian start, giving almost as much space to the recent troubles of the Communist Party as to the problems of the professionals. The *Monthly Review* may move up the "evangelical index" of the Communist Party a notch or two, but a radical change of policy will surely be necessary if it is to provide the required amount of education in this important field.

In the *Partisan Review*, *Left Front*, and *Left Review*—all John Reed Club publications—the Communist Party line is still pretty strict, but the product of the left literati has immensely improved. This is equally true of such independent ventures as *Dynamo*, *Blast*, and the *Anvil*. Most of the writers appearing in these magazines are new, many of them are promising, and the level of technical competence is surprisingly high. True, a kind of revolutionary sentimentality crops up here and there among these writers, but less and less do they attempt to substitute earnestness for art. Among the theoretical revolutionary magazines, the *New International*, published by the Communist League (Trotzkyists), is an impressive newcomer. When a small left group can get out a fifteen-cent monthly magazine containing in its first issue some 70,000 words of rather well-thought-out and well-written prose, then the dollar value of such enterprises as the opulent and glistening *Fortune* becomes somewhat questionable.

The limiting factor in the development of this "outlaw" press, is, of course, its factionalism. But as the depression continues to drive recruits into the radical fold, unifying tendencies are likely to develop. When the commercial magazines committed cultural suicide by becoming advertising businesses, they really accomplished a kind of service. They achieved the reductio ad absurdum of these middle-class "culture-bearers," and they cleared the ground for something new, strange, and increasingly vital.

Morals for Men

IN an article contributed to the Atlanta *Journal* by Bishop "Coco-Cola" Candler we read with considerable surprise that *The Nation* recently said: "[America] will never be restored in economics or in politics till it gets right with religion and morals." None of the editors remember having committted this thought to paper and "get right with" is not a locution favored in this office. However, what we want chiefly to protest against is the assumption that morals have ever ceased to interest the American people or that it is not easier to get up a good hot discussion over a moral question than it is over any concerning such mundane subjects as unemployment, starvation, or mis-government.

Consider for example the case of the Aldermen of the City of New York. The metropolis is, we believe, faced with a good many serious problems. Money is scarce, thousands are clamoring for relief, and actual crimes of violence occasionally occur. But do the Aldermen, for all that, take the low view that such matters ought to have first consideration when a moral problem arises? They do not. What, to be specific, were they doing at their last meeting before adjournment for the summer—which meeting, incidentally, occurred almost exactly at the time when Mayor La Guardia was denouncing the bankers for their low appraisement of the municipal bonds about to be issued? We hasten to answer. They were engaging in long and heated debate on the subject of what ought to be done to men who insist upon appearing upon the public beaches with bare chests. They were also considering two ordinances relating to the question, which were introduced respectively by Alderman Louis E. Isnardi and Alderman Lew I. Haas. To the former the spectacle presented by gentlemen in trunks alone was appalling. "It's filthy and disgusting. It's immoral and it's nasty." The latter, on the other hand, could not see it that way. Accordingly Alderman Isnardi wished to reintroduce an ordinance, vetoed a few days before by the Mayor, which specifically forbids the public exhibition of the male chest. Alderman Haas, on the other hand, wished to pass one declaring that "exposure of the male anatomy above the waist shall not be deemed indecent."

To blunted sensibilities like ours the whole matter seems trivial. To us the male chest is a peculiarly uneventful expanse of no interest whatsoever. It presents nothing capable of catching the eye, arresting the attention, or arousing the passions. Its characteristics are negative and it is hard to see how it could possibly be indecent. We have no objection to its being covered because there does not really seem to be anything to cover; but we cannot imagine anyone, male or female, being led astray or started upon a life of sin through its exhibition. Nevertheless, it is reassuring to know that we have a Board of Aldermen sufficiently on the alert to sense moral danger where we would see none, and sufficiently conscientious to devote the little precious time remaining before adjournment to a solemn discussion of the proper way to meet it. It only remains to be added that the board finally disposed of the matter in a highly statesmanlike fashion. It decided to postpone further consideration of both proposed ordinances until the next meeting—by which time the bathing season will, of course, be practically over.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues and Men

Hitler's "Me und Gott"

IT is impossible to read Hitler's defense of his atrocious murders without taking heart. I am aware, of course, that he has strengthened himself at home for the moment by his horrible acts. When a dictator slaughters like that he stuns his country and, for the moment, paralyzes opposition. I have read of the cheers and approval with which his statement was greeted in the Reichstag and in the press, and how the latter is falsely misrepresenting to the German people the burning indignation of the public opinion of the world. Nonetheless, knowing the Germans as I do, I cannot but feel that this orgy of blood-letting marks the beginning of the end of Hitler. It may take a long time to rid the country of him; but, as Wendell Phillips once said apropos of slavery, "so, when the tempest uproots a pine on your hills, it looks green for months—a year or two. Still it is timber, not a tree." Hitler remains as dictator, but no longer the defiant head of a people which he insisted was united to the last man. A tyrant who begins to kill traitors must more than ever be on the look-out for their friends, their sympathizers, their relatives, their avengers.

Again, there must be some reason left in Germany, and just as Verdun opened the eyes of millions of the Kaiser's subjects, who had still been living in the intoxication of the "absolutely united Germany" of the first war years, to the hopelessness and folly of the German cause, so Hitler's speech—to say nothing of the cause of it—must give sight to many hitherto blind. For if there is any logic left among his adherents, if they are able at all to analyze in cold blood Hitler's speech, the following facts established by the tyrant himself—not by any critic or enemy—stand out clearly:

I. As the Kaiser identified himself with God, so Hitler declares: "In this hour I was responsible for the fate of the nation, thereby the supreme court of the German people during these twenty-four hours consisted of myself." Me und Gott!

II. Hitler admits that he knew in May of the traitorous plans of his chief of staff, Captain Roehm, and that he let him *from then on* continue to weave his plot instead of immediately dismissing—or killing—him and thus preventing his corruption of other Storm Troop leaders and persuading them to their deaths.

III. Hitler admits that he had known since May that Roehm "and the circle devoted to him broke all the laws of decency and simplicity, but it was even worse that his poison began to spread in ever enlarging circles." But Hitler allowed the poison to spread for two months longer, precisely as he had always known that in making Roehm, the open pervert, chief of staff he put into one of the highest offices a man whose homosexual love letters had been *published and satirized* freely in the German press as far back as 1932. He also admits that Heines, Hayn, Heydebreck, and Ernst were all of this type—yet he made them leaders and exemplars to the Storm Troops, upheld and glorified them *until they turned against him.*

IV. Hitler admits that in his Storm Troops there was (a) licentiousness, (b) corruption, (c) dissipated living—in his own words "bad conduct, drunken excesses, and interference with decent, peaceable folk—and (d) favoritism, which worked great injury, "the oldest and most faithful Storm Troopers were pushed more and more into the background." Yet the Storm Troopers were absolutely the creation and creatures of Adolf Hitler, who, by his own admission, took no steps to end the demoralization of his private army of which he says he was aware months and months ago—which speaks volumes for his worth as an executive and a leader.

V. Hitler admits the execution of "three special guard members who had made themselves guilty of disgraceful maltreatment of prisoners taken into protective custody"; similar entirely substantiated charges of torture and murder of prisoners have been known to Hitler but denied by him from the very beginning.

VI. Hitler admits that he caught no one red-handed; that not one single overt act had been committed before he struck, and he glories in the fact that his victims were shot on the shortest possible notice, or, as in the case of Von Schleicher and his wife, without notice at all.

VII. Hitler passes over the deaths of the Catholic leaders murdered by him without the slightest reference to them or attempt to connect them with the alleged plot.

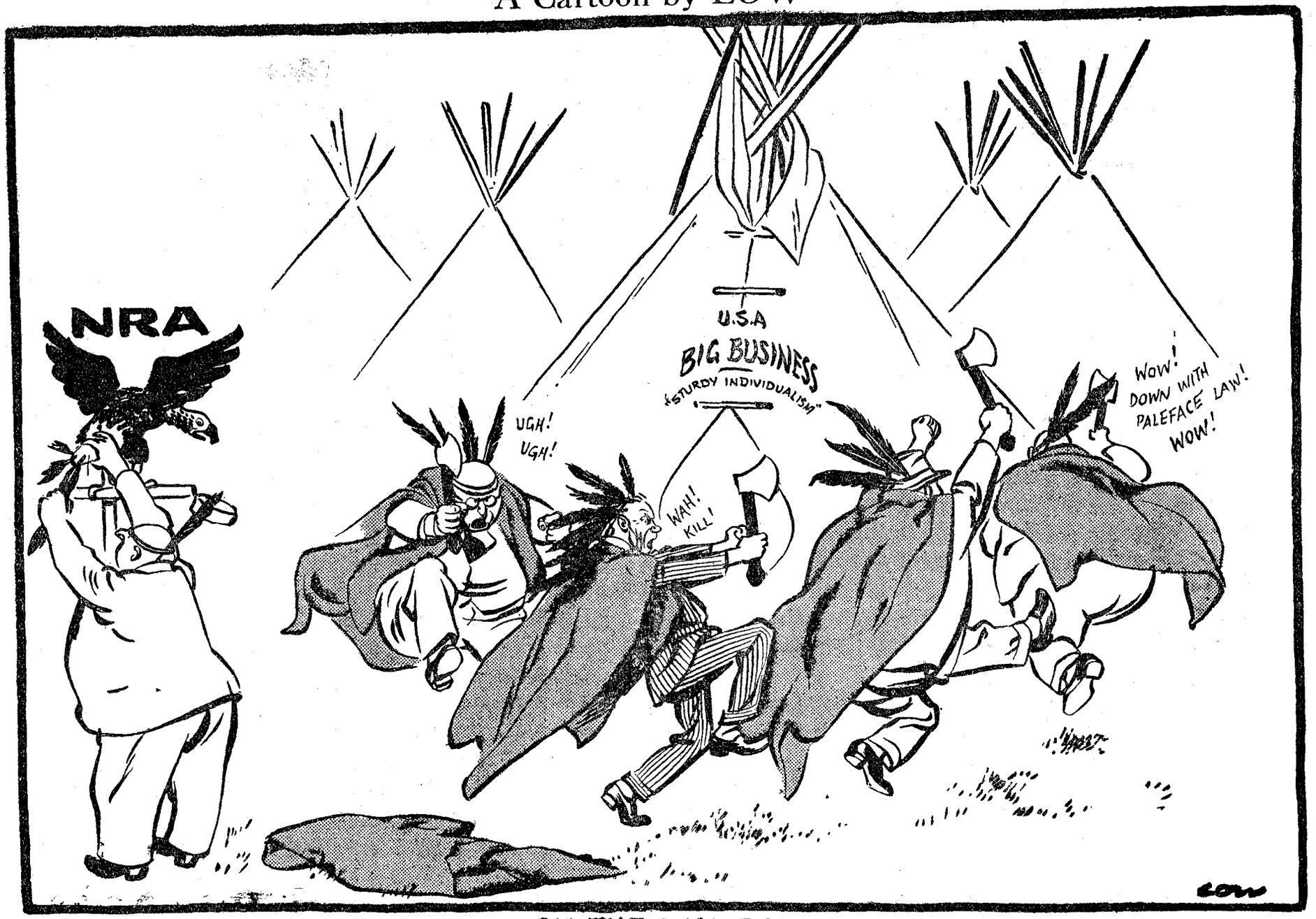
VIII. Hitler admits the gravity of the economic situation which in his earliest speeches he was going to cure at once and he has to fall back upon the absurd theory that Germany can be saved from disaster by the skill and inventiveness of her chemists and scientists who are to provide substitutes for cotton, wool, rubber, manganese, aluminum, the precious metals, and all the other raw materials upon which Germany depends.

But finally, and most important of all, is the fact that, like all dictators in history, Hitler after a year and a half of power has so completely identified himself with the state as to make any move against him personally a crime against the state. The Roehm revolt, if such there was, was not aimed at the German people or at the German state; Hitler declares that they wished to get rid of him and that they wished to make the Hitler revolution really the radical, National Socialist one Hitler fooled millions into believing that it was to be. All sane Germans cannot fail to see this, nor to realize that, having got rid of the Kaiser, they have placed over them a man who has now made himself the supreme authority beyond and above all law and courts and has arrogated to himself power of life and death over any one whom he may accuse of conspiracy against him. I cannot yet believe that in the long run the German people will stand for anything of the kind.

Oswald Garrison Villard

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Cartoon by LOW



ON THE WAR-PATH.

Copyright by the Inter-Europa Press. Reproduction in the United States forbidden.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

San Francisco:
An Autopsy on the General Strike

By MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD

San Francisco, July 22

THE general strike in San Francisco and the Bay District collapsed in three days because it never was a general strike in any real meaning of that term. A true general strike is a revolutionary measure; it has political aims and its genesis is a profound economic revolt. What occurred in San Francisco was a gesture of sympathy extended to the stubbornly fighting longshoremen and maritime workers by good, conservative, patriotic A. F. of L. members who, stirred by the fiery appeals of Harry Bridges and other ardent strike-leaders of the I. L. A., bolted from the control of their usual masters, the reactionary labor leaders, and for a short while took the bit in their teeth. They were reluctant to go back; the vote was 191 to 174. But the vote to demand that both sides submit to arbitration was equally close—203 to 187—and yet the general strike committee did so vote. And even the rank-and-file workers were curiously cautious from the beginning; in the original general-strike vote there were three opposed unions; two of these were already out but registered an adverse vote simply to retain their charters, which forbade sympathy strikes. It is not of such material that genuine general strikes are made.

I walked through the downtown sections of the city on the third day of the strike, and I had to look about me sharply to see evidences of its existence. There were no Market Street Railway Company cars, but the municipal cars were running as usual, ordered back by the strike committee itself after one day off the streets. There were no taxis, more people than usual were on foot, and private cars were fewer because only physicians and public institutions could obtain gasoline; but entire calm and lack of alarm prevailed. Only the restaurants and barber-shops were closed; other stores, including department stores, were open as usual, and full of customers. Fresh meat could not be bought, food staples were rationed, and at first there were no fresh vegetables or fruit; but nineteen restaurants were allowed to open from the beginning, and in a day or two these had increased to sixty-nine. Newspapers were published as usual, light and power and communication systems were untouched, bread and milk deliveries were not interfered with. The strike was never complete, and it began relaxing its provisions almost at once. Food trucks manned by union drivers were given permits to enter the city, where National Guardsmen promptly ripped the permits off. About the only real deprivation endured by the general public was the inability to go to the theater, eat in a hotel dining room, ride in a taxi or on a Market Street Railway car, get clothes cleaned or washed, and get a hair-cut.

Naturally the citizens as a whole, until they were excited by certain newspapers and radio stations and by sundry spokesmen for the anti-labor cohorts—including Mayor Rossi—into viewing the whole affair as a communist plot, took these minor annoyances with more or less good humor. They stocked up in so far as they could on food and gasoline, postponed various gatherings, from the cosmetologists' convention to the Novena to St. Anne, and waited in a rather friendly spirit to see what would happen next. Some of the signs on closed business houses were mildly facetious—"Gone out to eat," read a card on one padlocked restaurant.

Meanwhile the National Longshoremen's Board, appointed by President Roosevelt, called in vain for a chance to arbitrate. The employers dallied; the workers, whatever the recommendations of the A. F. of L. strike committee, stood pat on their refusal to arbitrate the only real point at issue—the closed shop and control of the hiring halls. This board, later augmented and submerged by the aggressive General Hugh Johnson, had and has the confidence of none of the original strikers, and of none of the sympathetic strikers except the dukes of labor. Archbishop Edward Hanna, its chairman, is trusted by none except the conservative labor leaders. He broadcast an appeal just before the general strike, in which he pled for peace on the ground that we are all sons of one Father and brothers in Christ. That was as near as his speech came to economic reality. Edward McGrady, assistant secretary of labor though he be, has too long a record as a right-wing unionist to please the leftward-inclined rank and file. O. K. Cushing, the third member of the board, is a highly conservative attorney and affiliated with the Rolph group. And General Johnson, tactless, boisterous, and vacillating, certainly gives no assurance to the men that he will have their interests instead of their employers' at heart. The very fact that the shippers, with the approval of the Industrial Association, favored arbitration was sufficient evidence to the maritime and waterfront strikers that the committee could be depended on to decide against them.

Into this delicate situation walked the ideal scapegoat, the Communists. They walked in deliberately, helped by that incredible indiscretion which impels them to take credit for every uprising of labor. Nothing could have suited better the Industrial Association, which has dreamed for years of transforming San Francisco into the open-shop paradise which Los Angeles is. Nothing could have suited better the mayors of San Francisco and Oakland, with their political ambitions; the hardboiled sheriffs of the surrounding counties, fearful of renewed agricultural disturbances; the acting governor, eager to be the Coolidge of California and to harvest the votes at the primaries in August; the American Legion, already engaged in an intensive anti-communist drive; the ordinary conservative unionists, a little ashamed of having been caught in this emotional gesture and delighted to believe that the original strikes were only the result of control of the I. L. A. and the maritime unions by a radical minority.

In two days every headquarters and meeting place of every organization affiliated even remotely with communism was raided by bands of "unknown" civilian vigilantes and thoroughly wrecked. The Marine Workers' Industrial Union was a constituent part of the maritime strike and had a large contingent in that extraordinarily impressive silent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

funeral procession of the two men murdered by police on "bloody Thursday," July 5. But it was the first headquarters to be visited and smashed, this time with the assistance of the National Guard. The *Western Worker,* the Workers' School, the Trades Union Unity League, the I. L. D., the Italian and Chinese and Japanese sections—not one was missed. The fever spread to the east bay, which in every detail had copied the example of San Francisco about a day behind. The Oakland police and the "scientific police" of Berkeley, following, as in San Francisco, the civilian raids, mopped up after the wreckers and arrested everyone in sight. A meeting in a Congregational church was invaded; the West Berkeley hall of the Finnish cooperatives, not Communist-controlled although there are some Communists among the members, was reduced to kindling wood, while the helpless workers watched their thousand-dollar library, their theater with its two grand pianos, all their equipment that spelled years of sacrifice, committed to wanton destruction. In San Francisco the Triangle Press, an ordinary commercial firm which happened to print the *Western Worker,* was burned to the ground. The I. W. W. hall was included in the holocaust. In Oakland bricks were thrown through the windows of twenty private houses, bearing orders to get out of town. In Hayward a gallows was erected, marked "Reds, Beware!"

The San Francisco city jail, built to accomodate 150, now has 400 prisoners. Many of those arrested were seriously injured, but details were suppressed. All prisoners are being held under $1,000 cash bail; the leaders are to be tried on criminal-syndicalism charges, the aliens to be deported—in some cases to Germany, Italy, or Japan. One judge characterized their demand for a jury trial as "ridiculous," and when George R. Anderson, their attorney, applied to Police Captain O'Meara for a guard or for permission to carry a revolver, after he had received several threats of lynching, O'Meara replied that he was "too busy" to bother.

All over northern and central California now, from Sacramento to San Luis Obispo, Communist headquarters are being raided and radicals are being arrested or deported. For the first time the Communist Party had gained a place on the California primaries ballot ("unfortunately," as the chief of police of Oakland remarked), but every known candidate is either in prison or in hiding. They will not be allowed to hold any campaign meetings or demonstrations. Mayor Rossi of San Francisco says frankly that he intends to drive all Communists permanently out of San Francisco; and Mayor McCracken of Oakland echoes his sentiments.

Meanwhile, the general strike over, the I. L. A. and the maritime unions are being bullied into submitting to arbitration by the President's board—an arbitration that will almost certainly mean the crushing of the strike. The big shippers are calling their vessels home again to San Francisco, and announce that this time they plan "a real port opening, not just a gesture." The teamsters have capitulated utterly; they have voted to go back without reservations, which means that they will haul goods loaded and unloaded by strikebreakers. The strong pressure brought on the mayor from the beginning of the general strike to ask for a declaration of martial law has not let up even though the general strike is over. As an instance, employees of some firms have been ordered to sign petitions asking the mayor to call for martial law, and those who refused are being threatened with loss of their jobs.

Only a few small unions are still out on either side of the bay (except for the original waterfront and marine strikers), and these for their own grievances. The run-of-the-mill union men of the Bay District had their little sympathetic spree, and now they are back docilely in harness, under the resumed control of Casey and O'Connell and Kidwell and Vandeleur. President Joseph Ryan of the I. L. A. has even evolved the grotesque theory that the general strike was called to serve notice on the San Francisco longshoremen that they must get rid of Harry Bridges and his kind and return to conservative leadership! Since, months before the strike, the longshoremen ousted their renegade district president, Lee Holman, for just such advocacy, they are not likely to obey. But they and the maritime unions have now been abandoned to their fate. The general strike is over, but the general drive to crush militant unionism in San Francisco has only just fairly begun.

Wisconsin's New Party

By HAROLD M. GROVES

Madison, July 19

THE nation has always looked to Wisconsin for radical leadership. The progressive movement in that State has been one of unusual vigor and persistence. Frequently during the last thirty years it has had the responsibility of power. On such occasions it has shown an unusual capacity to convert its program into intelligent social legislation. Its statutes have been very widely copied by other States. It has met many defeats and disasters only to come back stronger than ever. In addition it has sent to Washington men of outstanding stature. Because of his courageous opposition to the war and his valiant battles for the under dog, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., became the recognized national leader of the liberals and radicals. In 1924 when they decided upon an independent national ticket he was their choice as a candidate for President. His two sons who have stepped into his place as leaders of the Wisconsin movement have achieved national reputations in their own right.

For many years the Wisconsin Progressives have exerted their efforts within the Republican Party, seeking to capture its nominations and write its platform. Therefore, their recent decision to break away from the Republican Party and form a party of their own is of national interest and significance. The decision to strike out for themselves was not lightly and easily made. Since the last election there has been much new-party talk. But the leaders, with few exceptions, remained skeptical. They asked for a demonstration of popular demand; and they got it. During March a convention was held with delegates present from practically all counties in the State, most of them elected

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the occasion by mass meetings of the rank and file. Each delegation was called upon to express the sentiment of its district and it was overwhelmingly for a new party.

At a later conference the new party was launched. Since then the people have had an opportunity to show their interest and enthusiasm in a more tangible way, and have responded beyond the expectations of the most optimistic leaders. It had been agreed that the new party would be established only if and when 50,000 signers could be secured on new-party petitions. This was a much larger number than that required by law. Working virtually without money and with less than a month of time, the workers for the new party proceeded to get three times the number of signatures which had been set as a goal.

Does this mean that the people of Wisconsin have turned against Roosevelt? Apparently not. The *Literary Digest* poll shows Roosevelt stronger than ever. But it is one thing to support Roosevelt and quite another thing to support the Democratic Party. After their own candidates had been defeated in the primary, the Wisconsin Progressives supported Governor Schmedeman and a Democratic slate two years ago. This one dose of the Democratic Party has been enough to cure the Progressives for all time. The State Democratic administration made an almost perfect Stalwart record and opposed in State affairs practically everything which Roosevelt supported at Washington.

Within the Wisconsin Progressive movement a very wide range of temperament and philosophy has developed. On the extreme right are the hereditary Progressives, really conservative by temperament; the opportunists, Progressive for the purpose of getting into office; and the mild liberals. This group is disposed to be very cautious. They were unanimously and vigorously opposed to leaving the Republican Party. Now that the new party has proved itself popular they feel more kindly toward it. With a few exceptions they are willing to go along with the movement. The new party, as the right wing sees it, should be exactly like the progressive wing of the Republican Party except for its new name and its separate column on the ballot. They favor calling the new party the "Progressive Party," and they feel that no new declaration of principles or technique of organization is necessary. They think that "the principles of Old Bob LaFollette" and "what we have done for this State during the last thirty years" are foundation enough for any new party to stand on.

On the extreme left will be found some Progressives of an entirely different color. Some of them are Socialists who work with the Progressives because they feel that the Marxist approach is ineffective. All of them believe that very fundamental changes in the economic system are necessary and some of them feel that there must be a change of a sudden and drastic sort. These members care little about "reforms" and efforts to "stabilize capitalism." They place the principal emphasis upon political education rather than immediate action. Much of the drive for a new party came from the left wing. They want the new party to be one in fact as well as in name. They are class conscious and wish to found the party on "a mass movement of the rank and file." They favor the name "Farmer-Labor," want a declaration of principles and a platform at once, and favor a dues-paying organization of the rank and file to govern more or less the party and to promote candidates with a left point of view. They would pattern the party after the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. The League for Independent Political Action has had a strong influence upon this group.

In the center between the left and the right is a group of genuine liberals and mild radicals. They favor no break with the past so far as pressing an opportunistic program is concerned. They stress action ahead of education. Some of them feel that the tempo of progress must be increased in order to avoid fascism, war, and economic collapse, but they are interested in winning the next election and in what can be accomplished next year. This group divided on the issue of a new party. In the main it is not strongly class-conscious and it preferred "Progressive" as the new party label. It favors the primary election as a means of nominating candidates and framing a party platform.

The position of the middle group was recently presented in an address by Philip LaFollette. Some excerpts from this address follow:

> Modern intellectualism is inclined to believe that the mere statement of propositions in language means their carrying into action. . . . Experience has taught that those of common aims, confronted by factual situations, act without friction. . . . Let us all therefore endeavor to test theory with practice and resolve that the Progressive Party shall be dedicated to action.

Mr. LaFollette went on to explain his attitude toward public ownership. He favored public ownership of public utilities and central banks but opposed further "nationalization," advocating instead the "conscious distribution of national income" through taxation and other governmental policies.

The economic organizations cannot be left out of this picture. The leaders of the labor unions with some exceptions are left-wing Progressives and Socialists. The executive board of the State Federation of Labor is dominantly Socialist or socialistic. It will not be satisfied with a new party which is not thoroughly class conscious and which does not include the Socialists. These labor leaders have always complained considerably about the Progressives but they have obtained perhaps the best code of labor laws in the United States from legislatures dominantly Progressive. For this reason they cannot afford to oppose or ignore the movement entirely. The rank and file of the unions probably range from Socialists to middle Progressives. The organized farmers are much less disciplined and philosophically grounded than organized labor. Many of them are thoroughly radical and talk a great deal about cleaning out the profit system. Many will follow almost any magnetic leader who speaks their language. It is an accepted political maxim that neither the farm nor the labor leaders can deliver the vote of the rank and file in their organizations, not to mention the vote of the unorganized farmer and worker. The unorganized farmers have been strongly Progressive but unorganized labor voted in very large numbers for Stalwart Republicans and Democrats at the last election. Apparently they were frightened at the radicalism of Phil LaFollette.

Forging a new party out of groups with this wide range of viewpoint could hardly be accomplished without some friction. The right wing has occasionally referred to the left as "wind-bags" and "trouble-makers" and the left wing has sometimes called the right "office-seekers" and "the elder statesmen." Nevertheless there has been remarkably

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little dissension. Senator LaFollette has the respect and support of all factions and much Republican and Democratic support as well. Barring the unexpected he is sure to be re-elected by a wide margin.

On June 30 the left-wing group acting on its own initiative called a conference of representatives of farm and labor organizations and Progressive clubs. The meeting was well attended. It proceeded to organize a Farmer-Labor and Progressive League, adopted a declaration of principles, and appointed a platform committee. The declaration was not more radical than most Progressives would be willing to accept. Phil LaFollette and Tom Amlie both addressed the convention and both were given a warm reception. The League gives the new movement a dual organization, such as is characteristic of several political parties in Europe and, to some extent, of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. What part it will play in the history of the party remains to be seen.

There are those who feel that the Socialist Party will make heavy inroads into Progressive support in the fall elections. The Socialists have chosen a farmer to head their State ticket and have been busily at work in rural territory. Outside the large cities they are undoubtedly receiving a warmer reception than ever before and they are making some converts. The consensus of opinion seems to be, however, that they present no very serious threat to the new party.

The decision of Wisconsin Progressives to form a new party is the most recent and perhaps the most significant break in the direction of a new political realignment. But it was Minnesota, of course, which was first in the field with an independent radical party. Moreover, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party has enunciated the boldest and most radical platform which has yet appeared except under socialist and communist auspices. The showing of the party in the recent primary indicates that it stands a good chance of success in the general elections. On the other hand the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party is new in the field and has no record of achievement comparable to that of the Wisconsin Progressive movement. The last Minnesota legislature did pass a mild State income-tax law but it failed to enact even a conservative unemployment-insurance act.

The Non-Partisan League in North Dakota is now badly split and confused over the trial of Governor Langer for the misuse of federal funds. The League moreover has always done business within the Republican Party. But the North Dakota farmers, well organized and accustomed to united political action, should not prove difficult to convert.

The nuclei of new party movements have been organized in several other States. What kind of reception they will receive remains to be seen. Not everywhere are the Democrats in as ill repute with liberal people as they are in Wisconsin. Some of the States have election laws which make the inauguration of new parties difficult and it will require strong popular support to succeed in breaking down these obstacles.

It is true that the political cemetery is filled with new parties, but popular discontent has never been so strong or widespread as it is now. Unless the new leadership of the Democratic Party is able to liberalize that party nationally and locally to a much greater extent than has yet been done, and unless new party leaders run head-on into the rocks of dissension which have so often wrecked radical movements, the Progressive movement seems to have a good chance for success on a national scale.

"It Ain't No Sin!"

By JAMES RORTY

YOUR correspondent has discovered that all this uproar about the sinfulness of the movies is just a big, stupendous, colossal misunderstanding. He hopes that as a result of the explanations to follow, everything will soon be sweet and peaceful again; after which Mae West can go back to work, and maybe Elder Will Hays will buy your correspondent an ice-cream soda.

The movies are accused of corrupting the morals of American men, women, and children. But consider who makes the accusation—a "Legion of Decency" already numbering hundreds of thousands of people and rapidly growing; by autumn it is expected that there will be at least 12,000,000 Legionnaires of Decency—8,000,000 Catholics and 4,000,000 members of other denominations.

By their own admission these crusaders are themselves unstained; the movies have utterly failed to corrupt them. Presumably the criterion of membership in the Legion is the scriptural text, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone." Otherwise the crusade would be un-Christian and immoral. Surely one does not mobilize sinners to do God's work. Hence, considering the number and purity of the accusers, the movies must be acquitted out of hand. The conclusion is inescapable: America may be "smothered in goods," we may have excess productive capacity in industry and agriculture, but our moral economy is still one of scarcity. The labors of Cecil De Mille, Greta Garbo, Clara Bow, Jean Harlow, Lupe Velez, even that great good bad woman Mae West, have been utterly ineffective. Man does not live by bread alone. We are facing a sin shortage of alarming proportions. Relatively, America is still as innocent as a new-born babe.

It is possible, of course, that this shortage is more apparent than real—that it is largely based on the misunderstanding created by the efforts of the Hays office to have its sin and eat it too. For instance, the title of Miss West's forthcoming picture was announced as "It Ain't No Sin." If this title had been retained we would confidently expect that the Legion of Decency would set up headquarters opposite every theater exhibiting this picture, with a bigger, brighter Neon sign proclaiming "'Tis Too." Which indicates the tragic confusion of purposes underlying the whole controversy.

Stung by the ingratitude of her public, Miss West is rumored to have said: "If I was a home girl, I'd be broken-hearted." It is further rumored that Miss West, when sternly instructed to take the kick out of her current product, burst into tears. Like the Georgia mules that wouldn't plow

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under the cotton, the gallant trouper balked stock still in the furrow rather than abate her customary zeal in giving the boys what they wanted.

Sudden as it seemed, this new attack upon the movies did not spring full-born from the brow of Mrs. Grundy. It started over a year ago when some eighteen assorted sociologists, psychologists, and educators issued a nine-volume report of the findings of a four-year study of the effect of the movies upon children. The study was financed by the Payne Fund and instigated by another privately subsidized organization known as the Motion Picture Research Council. By a curious coincidence, the director of the Council is William H. Short, and certain unregenerate movie people have intimated that Mr. Short's object was to intensify the shortage indicated in the title of this article. In fact Mr. Short has at various times admitted as much. The nine-volume study was summarized and popularized in a book by Henry James Forman entitled "Our Movie-Made Children," parts of which were also published in *McCall's* magazine. The conclusions of the social scientists as summarized by Mr. Forman were, briefly, that sure enough the movies were not so good for the little tots; that the big tots as they reached puberty learned about women from Mae West and about men from Clark Gable; that the movie industry is, in effect, an educational apparatus rivaling in influence the school, the church, and the home; that at least three-quarters of the subject matter of current movies is sex, love, and crime—the apposition of "sex" and "love" is consistently adhered to; that many high school and college boys and girls confess they learned elements of practical love technique from the movies; that many juvenile delinquents and adult criminals have been movie fans and that some of them think the movies started them on the downward path; finally that the movies are a powerful instrument of propaganda—for and against war, for and against racial minorities. (The movie is also used consistently to carry propaganda against radical political and economic movements but this fact was not brought out.)

Some of the studies were about as silly-scientific as Walt Disney: for example the experiments in which a number of helpless boys and girls out of an orphanage, when exposed to the amours of screen lovers, promptly boosted the needle of the psycho-galvanometer. The "scientific norm" in these experiments was the reaction of the fiancee of one of the experimenters to a kiss administered in the laboratory. On the other hand some of the researchers were serious and sensible; they pretty much agreed that the trouble with the movies was their emptiness, their lack of genuine social and artistic content. They also indicated with some conclusiveness that "horror" pictures have bad effects on very young children and that non-movie-going children are on the whole brighter than children who see movies all the time.

As soon as this "fact-finding" study appeared, Mr. Short's Research Council went into action with a big campaign to do something about it, this requiring first a campaign for a $200,000 war chest. What Mr. Short's organization intended to do has never been very clear. The Motion Picture Research Council has always officially repudiated the suggestion that it intended to further the censorship movement. Last April, Mrs. August Belmont (the former Eleanor Robson) said flatly, "We don't want censorship, we are afraid of that." But Mr. Short, in his report delivered at the end of May, said, "I am not against censorship; so far as I know the views of the members of our group, most of them are not opposed to censorship. I think we are in agreement with the position of the splendid British Commission on Educational and Cultural Films that every culture has the right to defend itself by censorship against disintegrating forces. . . . But a negative method cannot perform a positive function; censorship cannot reconstruct and rebuild the movie output. . . ."

Yet the Patman bill providing for federal regulation of motion pictures was supported by at least two of the leading members of the Research Council. Unquestionably Mr. Short's organization sowed the wind although it seems unlikely that it will reap heavily in the path of the Catholic whirlwind which, by the way, it has never publicly repudiated or criticized. When Mrs. Belmont resigned as president at the end of June, on the ground of ill health, she said that "with the Pope expressing his condemnation in Rome and the Protestant churches, through their Federal Council, supporting the Catholic position in this country, the need is manifest for the kind of coordinating work the Motion Picture Council can supply."

What, by the way, is the Catholic position, and to what extent does the Federal Council of Churches (Protestant) support it? The Catholic Bishops' Committee obtained assurances from the industry that Mr. Joseph Breen had been given authority to clean up current productions. It expressed the hope "that the results of the organized industry's renewed efforts looking toward adequate self-regulation will be followed by adequate moral improvement in the pictures shown. And thus it is hoped that the Catholic bishops may be relieved of what otherwise will be the imperative necessity of continuing indefinitely and of extending the campaign of protest." But the Committee also approved the formation of a "Council of the Legion of Decency," and the individual bishops went on the warpath in earnest. Innumerable "black lists" and "white lists" have been issued. In Philadelphia Cardinal Dougherty, scorning the compromise of discriminating lists, has declared a boycott against all movie theaters which threatens to close some 500 houses. The bishops of forty-five dioceses have issued pastoral letters to their congregations urging them to join the Legion of Dencency and Bishop Cassidy of Fall River thinks Elder Will Hays ought to resign.

As for the lists, the current black list of the Chicago Archdiocese puts thirty-one pictures in the index expurgatorius, most of which by average standards are neither indecent nor immoral but simply childish, stupid, or incredibly banal. Conversely the white list approves among others a jingoistic pro-war film; films with a crook and a sot, respectively, as their heroes; an ultra-reactionary film showing the "World in Revolt"; a film glorifying the "poor rich."

The Catholic church has a vested doctrinal interest in suppressing movies which feature divorce or birth control. This is not the position by any means of all the Protestant denominations represented in the Federal Council of Churches. Yet the Reverend Worth M. Tippy, head of the Federal Council's department of church and social service has been cooperating with the Catholic drive against objectionable pictures. And in Chicago, Bishop Waldorf of the Methodist Church has undertaken to recruit 1,000,000 Methodists for the crusade, reinforcing Cardinal Mundelein's 1,250,000 parishioners.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In New York an Interfaith Committee of Catholics, Jews, and Protestants has undertaken to unify the church campaigns and is threatening to include books, plays, and dance halls. A speaker at the Interstate Conference of the Women's Christian Temperance Union urged the necessity of federal legislation as the only way to have "real censorship of dirty movies."

As might be expected, the ineffable William Randolph Hearst has joined the "Legion of Decency" with a whoop. On July 8 the Hearst press editorialized against the increase of dirty movies and revealed that the "American Husband" who wrote a letter to the editor of the Los Angeles *Examiner* last October was none other than that well known family man, Mr. Hearst himself. Said "An American Husband": "There will surely some day be established an effective federal censorship of atrocities which invade every household and exercise a determining influence on the character of the whole people, but particularly of the young. . . . Let the government do its duty. . . . . When an American husband takes his family to the theater he ought to be certain that he is not taking them to a house of ill-fame."

It would require only a slight shift in the wind to send the Legion of Decency careening after the sinful newspapers, especially the Hearst press. Maybe Mr. Hearst will pipe down before that happens. Or maybe, out of his seemingly inexhaustible resources of unctuous hypocrisy, he will find a way of getting out from under.

Against the frantic hypocrisy and irrationality of this country-wide uproar, there have been raised only a few, frail voices. Last week the National Council on Freedom from Censorship issued a statement suggesting that the recent attacks on the movies have confused the public mind and calling on the organizations responsible for the attacks "to clarify their attitude towards State and federal censorship of the movies and their plans regarding the stage, the book and magazine publications, the radio, and the newspapers."

Among those signing the statement were Elmer Rice, Mary Ware Dennett, Morris L. Ernst, B. W. Huebsch, Dr. Louis I. Harris, former Health Commissioner, and William A. Orr. The signers go on record as opposing either government or religious censorship and ask: "Can we take the judgment of some of these bodies expressing condemnation of the picture version of 'Men in White,' a Pulitzer-prize play of the year, as indicative of a condemnation of all pictures referring in any way to birth control or abortion? What other serious subjects would they prohibit from being presented in movies, on the stage, in books, and in the press? In making lists of motion pictures, condemned by the several organizations quoted in the press, would they object to naming the judges who have passed upon and approved these pictures, so that the public may be informed as to the ethical, moral, and artistic ability of these judges?"

Considering how long ago the fire alarm started ringing, the "morals machinery" of the Hays office was slow in getting under way. Characteristically, the industry was too cynical, too hypocritical, and too scared to fight. It scrapped the Hollywood Producers' Jury, the members of which could be counted on to let each other get away with anything and everything on the principle of reciprocity. It made Joseph Breen the moral dictator and told him to clean up, offenders being given only the right to appeal to the directors of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. —the Hays office in New York. It also told J. J. McCarthy of the Hays office to clean up motion-picture advertising, which meant putting the fan dancers back into their clothes and seeing that the stills of screen lovers showed them in vertical, rather than in horizontal positions.

Under the Motion Picture Code, "block booking," which of course means also "blind booking," was validated, but the exhibitor was permitted to cancel 10 per cent of his booking. Block booking was attacked both by the Motion Picture Research Council and in the report of the Darrow NRA Review Board. And when the Legion of Decency got under way, many exhibitors pleaded helplessness on the ground that their contracts obliged them to show naughty pictures to which they themselves objected. An eminent motion picture magnifico—too eminent to be named—contributed to the writer the following jeer at this plea: "So these tank-town exhibitors say the hot numbers are pinned on 'em, eh? Say, did you ever hear of any exhibitor using his 10 per cent privilege to cancel 'I'm No Angel'? . . . Neither did I. But hundreds of 'em canceled 'Cradle Song' and it was a gorgeous, stupendous, wholesome picture."

But when the Legion of Decency was mobilized, some of these tank-town exhibitors—and big-town exhibitors too —called for help, so the industry cooperated. Henceforth any release prior to July 15 may be canceled if the exhibitor presents satisfactory evidence that the picture has been publicly objected to by the Legion of Decency or some other protesting body. This, of course, will cost the producers a great deal of grief and a lot of money. They have already had about a ten-million-dollar headache out of the current uproar and are due to suffer still more.

In the opinion of your correspondent it is a thoroughly deserved headache. There is more truth than jesting in the intimation expressed earlier in this article that the industry has afflicted us with a sin shortage. How otherwise can one interpret the preposterous spectacle of 12,000,000 "Legionnaires of Decency," themselves innocent of moral turpitude, careening over the cultural landscape and threatening to land us all behind the bars of a federal censorship? The movie magnates have treated the American people like cattle. They have measured the prurience of our Puritan mass culture, made films to exploit and incidentally confirm that prurience, and added for good measure a little of their own prurience. Of honest sin or honest sainthood they have given us practically nothing. Fake sin, fake sex, fake social and moral values: how can a culture achieve a healthy maturity on that sort of diet? It has not matured, but it has become bored. I suspect that the ease with which Catholic and Protestant reformers have launched this new crusade is owing to the widespread objection not to the salaciousness of the pictures but to their empty stupidity, only partially redeemed by an increasing technical excellence. Honest sex is not indecent and should not be dull; feeble salaciousness and hypocritical moralizing are both. The industry has never had courage enough to defend the first but has always taken refuge in the second. Witness what is happening to Mae West's new picture. The original title "It Ain't No Sin" was changed first to "The Belle of New Orleans" and then to "The Belle of the Gay Nineties" with corresponding bowdlerizing of lines and scenes. And Mae West's version of sex was far more decent than anything the screen had shown for years.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In short, the industry has bred this herd of pharisaical censors and now that it is being trampled by them, your correspondent finds himself dry-eyed and unmoved. It will pass of course. The middle-class mob will turn to something else, although we shall be lucky if this time we escape before a federal censorship is clamped down on both screen and stage—even, possibly, on books. If that happens, of course, we shall continue to have a shortage of sin—the culture will be frozen in the mud of our Puritan adolescent prurience—but we shall have an even greater surplus of bootlegged screen, stage, and printed salaciousness, offered, as usual, in the name of art.

Georgia Suppresses Insurrection

By WALTER WILSON

THE Georgia Supreme Court has sustained the conviction in a lower court—and the sentence to the chain gang for a term of from eighteen to twenty years—of Angelo Herndon, nineteen-year-old Negro youth, on a charge of inciting to insurrection. What desperate crime was committed by this young man that earned him such a savage sentence? The charges were two. He participated in a meeting of unemployed Negro and white workers. Worse, the police raided his home, without warrant, and found radical literature there such as "Communism and Christianism" by former Episcopal Bishop William Montgomery Brown of Arkansas, "The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers" by George Padmore, and other items. In the trial that followed the prosecution appealed to racial, religious, and political prejudices. The assistant solicitor, John B. Hudson, said it was not a trial of Herndon, but of "Lenin, Stalin, Trotzky, and Kerensky." All of the State's witnesses were public employees, some of them detectives. The court blocked attempts of the defense to put on the stand white economists of standing from Georgia universities as expert witnesses on the literature and theories involved.

The old insurrection statute is being used in Georgia as a criminal-syndicalist law. But that crime had not been heard of when the law was originally passed in 1833 following the Nat Turner slave uprising in Virginia in that year. In 1866 the Georgia legislature, under control of the friends of the Confederacy (not carpet-baggers), enacted its Black Codes. As a part of them the old 1833 statute penalizing insurrection among slaves was made to apply to the newly freed Negroes and to agitators who flowed South to inform the Negro about his new prerogatives of freedom of movement, the right of franchise, and citizenship.

Only one case was tried under the law from 1866 to 1930. In 1869 a Negro preacher was charged with inciting his congregation to release a man from prison. The conviction that followed on a charge of inciting to insurrection was appealed to the Georgia Supreme Court and was reversed by that court on the grounds that though there was a law punishing insurrection there was not one for mere inciting to insurrection. General Joseph E. Brown, then Chief Justice of Georgia and, incidentally, one of the largest exploiters and traders in convict labor the South has known, went before the next session of the legislature and pointed out the lack of a specific penalty for inciting to insurrection. His suggestion was promptly executed. The law was enacted and has gathered dust in the archives for almost seventy years.

In 1930 six young Communists, two white girls, two Negro and two white men, doing trade-union and unemployed organizing in Georgia, were arrested and indicted under the same old insurrection statute. Bail was denied them for several months on the ground that the penalty on conviction was to be death. They were held in the cell at the Fulton County (Atlanta) Tower where prisoners already condemned to death are kept before being sent to Milledgeville for execution. They were also held incomunicado for a long time. Much of the same literature cited in the Herndon case was used by the prosecution in the indictment of the "Atlanta Six," as the cases came to be called. The Herndon case is really only a continuation of these cases.

However, the Atlanta Six cases have not yet come up for trial. There are several reasons. The Georgia labor movement, realizing that such a restrictive law would hit at all labor and progressive groups, took an interest in smashing the prosecution. The Atlanta Federation of Trades, made up of delegates from all labor bodies in the city, passed a strong resolution taking its stand for freedom of speech, press, and assemblage for communists along with everyone else. The editor of the local labor paper spoke out against infringement of the bill of rights. Fair-minded citizens of Atlanta also got busy. Committees were sent to see the authorities, demanding that the cases be dropped and all raids and persecutions of radicals be stopped. Finding the prosecution adamant, fifty-eight outstanding persons in Atlanta signed a statement and gave it to the press. In this they expressed their strong belief that the constitutional guaranties of free speech, press, and assemblage applied to communists just as well as to others. Editors in every Southern State praised the action and courage of the fifty-eight. The New York *World* said that this statement was worth more to the South than a "flock of skyscrapers." In addition to this activity in Georgia and in the South, labor and progressive groups in other sections of the country gave wide publicity to the cases and let their protests be known. As a result of this campaign the Atlanta authorities backed down and let the six out on bail.

But the subsequent conviction and savage sentence in Herndon's case proves that the prosecution was only waiting for a calm before striking again. The people who won the temporary freedom of the "Atlanta Six"—and this is especially true of the Southerners who aided so effectively—were lulled into a false sense of security because of the victory. They thought the prosecution of Herndon only a gesture and therefore no active campaign to stop it was carried on. This conviction and the fact that the authorities have issued subpoenas for the re-arrest of two of the Atlanta Six and for the arrest of two other communist organizers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(both of them natives of Georgia) has partially shocked them out of their lethargy. An indication of this is an editorial which appeared, soon after Herndon's conviction, in the Macon *Telegraph*, established in 1826 and one of the South's most courageous and progressive newspapers. It said in part:

> It is no credit to the State of Georgia that a man should be given such a terrible sentence—indeed, even any sentence—upon the charge of "inciting to insurrection" when he possesses literature of the Communist Party, which was duly registered in this State in the election last year. . . . After all, those who stupidly use our courts for such purposes ought to keep in mind that the ultimate purpose of communism is to provide enough food and clothes and shelter for oppressed people and that the danger is not from outside propaganda, but from fathers who look into the faces of pinched and hungry children. . . . The *Telegraph* hopes . . . the United States court will speak out in vigorous terms on such a statute as that under which he was convicted.

Clearly it is about time that the Southern labor movement, Jeffersonian Democrats, and friends of civil liberties and decency everywhere should let their voices be heard. This is serious business. Roger N. Baldwin has called the Herndon case "The most preposterous conviction for free speech in the United States since the war." If the conviction sticks and if the Atlanta Six are sent to prison, the forces of reaction and fascism in Georgia will have temporarily triumphed. The entire labor movement, communist and otherwise, in so far as it really attempts to function, will be driven underground just as surely as in Nazi Germany. Not only that but it will give, in other Southern States, powerful impetus to fascist tendencies, such as the Silver Shirts, the Alabama White Legion, and the Klan. Alabama reactionaries are trying to force the passage of an anti-syndicalist law and a law banning lawyers from Alabama practice who come from outside the State. News has just come that the authorities in Atlanta have derived great encouragement out of the decision of the State Supreme Court in the Herndon case. This means to them that the legal machinery of the State approves of their actions. As a result the police have been raiding the homes of workers without warrant; they have intimidated them into stopping their subscriptions to radical and liberal publications; they have visited newsstands and told the owners that they would have to cease selling labor literature.

But it is not only labor that has cause to be alert in combating this incipient fascism. For instance, most of the "insurrectionary literature" cited in the indictments of Herndon and the Atlanta Six was found in the circulating room of the Carnegie library in Atlanta. Dates when it was taken from the library are stamped on each volume. If the staff of the library is fortunate enough to escape arrest, isn't it likely that at least the authorities will insist on censoring the material in the library? Prosecutor John B. Hudson is known to be annoyed because authorities in De Kalb County, near Atlanta, where Emory University is located, have not arrested Dean Edgar Johnson, of the School of Economics, who has stubbornly and criminally refused to cease using the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx as required reading in his classes.

The International Labor Defense, assisted by the American Civil Liberties Union, is appealing the Herndon case to the United States Supreme Court on the grounds of the unconstitutionality of the old statute; the exclusion of Negroes from the jury; the exhibitions of prejudice during the trial; and the lack of evidence to sustain the verdict. It will likely be several months before the case can be argued.

In the meantime, a nineteen-year-old boy, in the first stages of tuberculosis, is confined in a small cell, given no exercise, fed rough food, in the same prison that once held Robert E. Burns, who wrote his prison experiences in "I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang." Herndon faces eighteen to twenty years on such a chain gang. He would not have one chance in a thousand to survive such a term. The Atlanta Six and hundreds of other labor organizers will face it in the future.

Young Russia at Play

By LOUIS FISCHER

Moscow, June 26

THE streets of Moscow resound these days to the light tramp of children marching in twos to the tune of small drums and bugles. They are the "Pioneers" or Soviet boy and girl scouts going off to summer camp where they will remain for from four to eight weeks. More than 100,000 children left Moscow during the first fortnight of this month. Additional groups are now en route. Other cities too are disgorging their young generation into the fields, meadows, mountains, and seashore.

The Pioneers' vacation will be much pleasanter this summer than in years gone by. It is not so much that material conditions in the camps have improved. This change pales in importance with the fact that the children will be bothered less with politics. Their leaders and teachers will remember that boys and girls want to be boys and girls and dislike having their fun sandwiched in between two fat layers of training in the building of socialism.

A permanent feature of the summer day in camp used to be the political meeting where current Soviet problems would be "discussed." The children were likewise required to spend part of their time in neighboring villages propagandizing the adults, helping in the fields, and making nuisances of themselves in still other ways. Games often took the form of political jousts between, say, kulaks and collectivized peasants on the virtues of communism. Resolutions of party congresses were studied and sometimes memorized. And incidentally the Pioneers also went swimming when the business of life permitted such frivolities. In this respect, camp was little different from the school season. Pupils whose classes finished at one in the afternoon came home at 7 P.M. "There was a Pioneer meeting," ran the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

honest explanation. Three or four Pioneer meetings a week was not unusual. The children got tired and bored, and were unable to devote much attention to studies.

These perversions have now been "liquidated." Several weeks ago an official decree declared that the Pioneers were being overworked, and that political activities for children should be reduced to the lowest possible minimum. This decree was at least a decade overdue, and it is strange that the bolshevik leaders did not know about, or did not correct, a condition which Soviet parents have complained against for many a school term. But now that the reform is introduced it will be applied with characteristic Soviet thoroughness. Before the summer set in, a referendum was taken among the Pioneers as to what they wished to do in their camps, and the results of this investigation naturally conformed with the new policy. Camp directors have accordingly been instructed to give the children "Rest, rest, and rest," as well as a respite from politics. Camps situated near collectives must neither assist in harvesting nor undertake to enlighten perspiring mujhiks on Marxist philosophy.

The startling discovery that children could manage to live through a whole summer with nothing more than a few news bulletins of current events reflects a new and important trend in Soviet affairs. There is a realization here that man does not live by politics alone. Factory clubs are shortening their meetings to afford ample time for jazz dances. The theater is having more comedy, the cinema more love. Ideology is being diluted with sentiment. The newspapers, especially the official *Izvestia* under Bukharin's editorship, print more articles on scientific and "human-interest" subjects and are increasingly objective about conditions abroad. The schools, finally, have been ordered to teach geography and history.

This constitutes a revolution in Soviet education. Formerly the politics of geography was taught to the children but not geography so that, as has been pointed out in the Russian press, a boy might know that "New York is the center of monopolistic capitalism and the bulwark of financial imperialism," but he would not know exactly where New York is. The politics of history was taught but not history, so that a pupil in a Soviet school could declare that Catherine the Great was the "product" of a feudalistic agricultural civilization and furthered Russia's desire to establish contacts with the West, but could not say when she reigned or what she actually did. A Moscow boy of ten recently told me all the details of a strike in Rostov-on-Don in 1894, and yet he had not the faintest notion of Russian history during that period. The socio-political history courses, moreover, were so filled with clichés and dogmatic interpretations that primary school children, unequipped as they were with facts, became ignorant mental automatons. No premium was put on thinking or independent judgments.

When the products of this system began to grow up and enter higher institutions of learning or take government jobs there was a sudden realization—which might have come much earlier—that the young generation was loaded down with preconceived ideas but unembarrassed by excessive knowledge. Needless to say, these evils cannot be eradicated in one year or even two. The beginning, however, has been made. The old methods are being publicly ridiculed although yesterday they had official sanction. At the end of this school year special instructions were issued eliminating examinations in the social sciences despite the fact that they had been one of the chief subjects of the curriculum.

Instead of abstract, formalistic social sciences the schools will now give compulsory courses in history and geography. The decrees inaugurating this innovation were considered so important that they were signed not by the Commissar of Education but by Stalin and Prime Minister Molotov in order to make it clear to every last teacher that this new regulation has become the highest law of the land and must in no circumstances be departed from. The decree on history condemns the "abstract sociological schematicism" of the past which was devoid of chronology, facts, and the characters of individual leaders, recommends the memorizing of dates and names, orders the publication of new text books on ancient, medieval, modern, and Soviet history, and the history of dependent and colonial countries, and concludes with instructions for the establishment of five-year courses in the Moscow and Leningrad universities for the training of teachers of history. The decree on geography is equally concrete and emphatic.

The excuse that until now the bolsheviks were too busy making history to study it is unconvincing, for they are just as busy making history today. The new trend is rather a phase of that yearning for relaxation and surcease from politics which the people and the bolsheviks feel and which the bolsheviks are ready to satisfy. Hitherto, Soviet political life has been an incessant struggle against the internal enemy and against economic conditions which were, in their essence, anti-socialistic. The weapons employed in the war with these obstructions were hate, temperament, unquestioning faith, blind enthusiasm, and one-track dogmas, but not scientific attitudes, for the man with an academic mind who meticulously weighs the pros and cons of an issue is not usually a fighter.

But time has brought a change. The domestic struggle in the Soviet Union is not finished. All Soviet citizens are not pro-bolshevik. The opposition, however, is weak and puny. It has no heart; it dare not lift its head. It is leaderless and programless. It embraces a very small fraction of the population. At most it is an attitude of skepticism or mental reservation rather than a wish to overthrow the regime. The material moulds of the nation's economy, furthermore, are so uncapitalistic now, and so successfully uncapitalistic that the possibility of restoration is negligible. Under these circumstances, it becomes difficult for the bolsheviks to whip up a fiery crusading spirit against the enemy within the gates. And the danger of attacks from without is also diminishing. Today, accordingly, the Soviets' big problem is to discover and implement new means for the stimulation of public action and popular feeling.

With the floodgates of hate closing, the bolsheviks are tapping two fresh sources of social inspiration: pride and loyalty. The Cheliuskin episode, therefore, was very opportune and has been exploited to the full. The details of the two-months' stay of the Cheliuskin crew on a saucer of ice rocking in the Arctic and of their rescue by the seven herofliers are exciting and thrilling. This was the greatest Polar adventure of all times. The life in Schmidt Camp which was built on the floe and the safe delivery of its five score members to land were a high tribute to bolshevik organization and a triumph of the collectivist method over the in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dividualistic which, appropriately, was recommended to Professor Schmidt by a German fascist daily. Schmidt rejected the trek over the ice by which the strong only might have reached the shore, and saved all by a masterful collective effort. The nation is proud. The Moscow street demonstration which welcomed the homecoming heroes was the brightest, best-staged, and jolliest I have ever seen here. The whole country insisted on acclaiming the expedition and its rescuers. I can think of nothing in Soviet history except the death of Lenin which has so united all Soviet citizens in one deep emotional experience. Russia was never a nation. Even during the World War, her rulers failed to arouse patriotism among the millions. The ethnic crazy-quilt and the dire poverty and oppression militated against unity and loyalty. The Soviet policy of economic and cultural autonomy for national minorities, on the other hand, proved to be an influence for cohesion, but class hostility produced the opposite effect. Today, the bolsheviks are searching for a common denominator which will close the ranks. There are still classes in the U. S. S. R. but no class exploits the other. The class war is accordingly tapering off to a skirmish. The gradual disappearance of such a disrupting element makes room for a unifying substitute. This is a development of vast sociological and political significance. It will be called nationalism. And indeed the latest Soviet slogan is: "For the Fatherland." The cry sounds queer, and when old bolsheviks like Radek and Bukharin write it —especially without the accompanying adjective "socialist" —they seem to swallow hard. The phenomenon is still young. It has been superimposed and there is no evidence that the nation needs or will accept this common denominator instead of another. Only the future will tell whether Soviet nationalism, if it strikes root, can be of a different quality than bourgeois nationalism; whether a nationalism whose chief purpose is not to divert attention from the class struggle can make a new contribution to society.

In the Driftway

SVEN HEDIN has not been captured by "bandits" in Chinese Turkestan. Instead he continues his peaceful geographical studies in presumably the most bandit-ridden spot on the earth's surface and the "brigand" who was supposed to have captured him, General Ma Chung-Ying, appears to be the same person as General Ma Chun-in who suffered defeat last week at the hands of General Shen Tsi-tsai and was driven across the Soviet border, where he and his horsemen have been interned by the Red authorities. For Hedin's sake the Drifter is rather sorry the kidnaping story turned out to be false. He is sure that the captors and the captive would have had a pleasant visit together in their tents on the lonely plains of Chinese Turkestan. For Hedin already was acquainted with the "brigand" general, having been held captive by him for three weeks in 1933. And the Drifter suspects that most "Chinese bandits" are simple people, as childlike as the Tibetan horsemen who forty years ago conducted Hedin out of the province of Jalok after his unsucessful attempt to reach Lhasa in disguise. These Tibetan cavalrymen were gorgeously dressed and heavily armed; Hedin was an unprotected enemy who had tried to reach their holy of holies; but their greatest joy on the long trek came when the "Schwed-Peling" (the Swedish European) allowed them to hold his watch to their ears and listen to its mysterious ticking. And their captive grew so fond of them that the parting at the border caused deep mutual regret.

* * * * *

THAT was forty years ago, and General Ma is said to be a hireling of Japan, but the Drifter cannot believe that any man-made harm can come to Sven Hedin. For forty-nine years he has been wandering through one of the few unmapped regions of the world. His yak-dung fires have burned in innumerable Himalayan passes; he has run the risk of death from cold, hunger, wolves, and thieves; over and over again, from one remote and desolate spot he has gone through storm and flood, through Himalayan cold and the unspeakable dirt of Tibetan villages, to reach another equally remote and desolate spot merely for the satisfaction of drawing a new line on the map of the world. His courage has stood him in good stead among the simple and impressionable nomads of Central Asia, but he has been protected most perhaps by a simplicity of his own which could be traced to his single-minded, completely disinterested passion for geography.

* * * * *

SINCE he threatens no man's vested interest, Sven Hedin will probably go unharmed to the end even in Chinese Turkestan where four Powers are now fighting for domination through their respective Chinese generals. And the Drifter is willing to believe that he has already won more victories than any of them. As to the quality of those victories and the satisfaction they have brought, the Drifter need only quote from "The Conquest of Tibet." Here is General Sven Hedin's idea of a "march of triumph":

> The cold alone pursued us and sank to —34.4°C. . . . One entire day snow swept around the marching caravan, and I could scarcely see the guide, who walked just ahead of my horse. . . . The caravan climbed up towards great heights on January 28. At the Pass Sela-la, the altitude was 18,060 feet. It was necessary to stand with legs apart to keep on our feet. It was safer to sit cross-legged while the blasts swept over the pass. . . . No human beings but Tibetans had even been here before; it was my land, I had conquered it.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Truth About the Jews

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

Mr. Ernest Boyd's article The Dilemma of the Jews is both amusing and pathetic. Mr. Boyd is evidently the type of nineteenth-century liberal who has learned nothing and forgotten nothing since his adolescence. He must read the daily papers, yet he doesn't know that the Jews were kicked out of the structure of German civilization the other day because they were the most highly and effectively assimilated Jewish group in all history. He lives, I believe, in New York and he writes: "Attachment to his religion is the one thing that sets the Jew

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

apart from his fellow-citizens." Such innocence is staggering. Do his Jewish friends sport phylacteries and a kosher kitchen and close their offices on the Sabbath? And does he pretend even to himself that they aren't Jews? I'm writing, so to speak, in words of one syllable. But I'm afraid no others can pierce these childish confusions.

"We are and we remain," in the great and final formulation of Theodore Herzl, "whether we will it or not, a historic group of recognizable homogeneity." Wherever we have been invited to assimilate we have made a profoundly sincere effort to do so. Each time a point has arisen at which it became apparent both to us and to our Gentile fellow-citizens that we cannot wholly assimilate. The effort breaks us and renders us sterile. Yet it does not satisfy the world. We grow enfeebled and corrupt and anti-Semitism re-arises in its most cruel forms.

From this dilemma arose the philosophy of Zionism, which is fundamentally the negation of the *Galuth* or dispersion in its present form as a worthy or fruitful way of human life.

I commend one final observation to Mr. Boyd. There is no virtue in tolerance if as its price you demand of any human being the sacrifice and degradation of assimilation to yourself. Tolerance means tolerance of difference, respect for other and even alien values. If Mr. Boyd will read the Thorah (the Pentateuch) he will observe the constant monitions to love, to protect, to defend the stranger, the sojourner, the *ger,* who lives in the midst of Israel. Not at the price of his conversion or assimilation to Israel, but in his specific character of a non-Israelite. This truth which we brought with us full-fledged from the Arabian desert nearly 3,000 years ago is still news to liberals like Mr. Boyd. Well, he hears the news at last.

Burlington, Vt., July 9 LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Correction

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

My attention has been called to an editorial in the recent issue of *The Nation,* commenting adversely on the New York State Convention. You state that "when a few scattered cheers greeted the announcement that there had been a 'revolution in Germany,' Mr. Waldman reminded the convention that 'this is a Socialist convention and cheers for a revolution are not in order'." None of this is correct. Your statement is grossly inaccurate. The cheers were not "scattered," but quite general and lusty. And I did not say what you quote me as saying.

Believing as I do in the freedom of the press, even where the editors are clearly wrong as you appear to be in this editorial, I cannot quarrel with your indulgence in unjust conclusions about the Socialists of New York and myself in particular. But when you purport to state a fact, I have a right to expect accuracy. Your editorial writer should have known that the statement ascribed to me by him is absolutely untrue and will not be believed even by those who differ from me. They know that I could not be guilty of saying such nonsense.

For the information of your readers, I desire to state the substance of what I did say when I was told that the riots in Germany were led by Goering. I said that "this is a Socialist convention and we will cheer an uprising in Germany made by the workers and led by the workers' representatives. We cannot cheer mere riots created by Goering and his allies."

Having published the inaccurate quotation from me and having based unjustifiable conclusions on that quotation, I will request you to publish this letter together wtih a retraction.

LOUIS WALDMAN

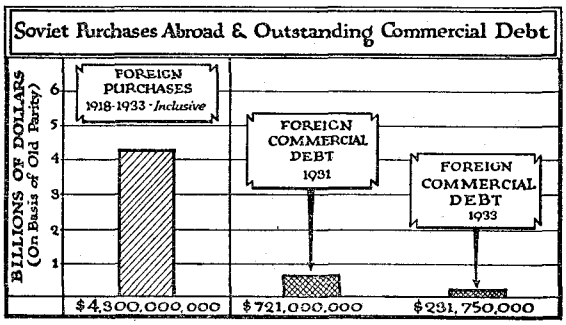
New York, July 18

[We are glad to print Mr. Waldman's correction and to express our regret at having given currency to and based con-

The SOVIET UNION

has a remarkable credit record

The gigantic program of industrial expansion carried out by the Soviet Union has necessitated foreign purchases of over four billion dollars, involving extensive commercial credits.



These credits have been paid off as they have become due. No one has ever lost a single dollar in extending credit to the Soviet Union. Commercial indebtedness was reduced in 1933 to less than 6% of the amount expended for foreign purchases. Yet this sharp reduction was made by the Soviet Union during a period when other nations were compelled to avoid or delay payment of their debts.

This remarkable credit record was possible because of the nation's rigid system of planned economy. Under this system it balances its budget each year, with a surplus; controls its foreign trade; and assumes no obligation without making ample provision for its repayment. These facts emphasize the safety of

SOVIET UNION 7% GOLD BONDS

These bonds are a direct obligation of this nation, whose capacity to pay has been so amply demonstrated.

Features of the bonds are: Principal and interest payments are based upon a fixed quantity of gold and are payable in American currency at the prevailing rate of exchange . . . Holders are thus protected against loss resulting from possible further reduction in the gold content of the dollar . . . These bonds are offered at par and accrued interest in denominations of 100 and 1000 gold roubles. (Present parity of gold rouble $0.8713.) . . . Interest is paid quarterly at the Chase National Bank of N. Y. . . . The State Bank of the U. S. S. R., with a gold reserve of more than $706 million, agrees to repurchase these bonds on demand of the holder at par and accrued interest at any time after one year from date of purchase, thus assuring long term marketability.

Send for circular N-9 for full information about these bonds

Soviet American Securities Corp.

30 Broad Street Tel. HAnover 2-5332 New York

Food and Sexual Feeling

Between food and sexual feeling there is an intimate relation. Certain foods will stimulate sexual feelings; other foods will allay sex desire. What these foods are, and how they act on the organisms, is explained by the eminent endocrinologist, Edward Podolsky, in the current issue of

The Modern Psychologist

Edited by Dagobert D. Runes, Ph.D.

OTHER ARTICLES

What Does Freud Want?
The Science of Hypnotism.
Surgery and Neurotics.
What Makes Us Cowards?
Tricks of the Subconscious.
The Psychology of Forgetting.

These are only a few of the many articles of unusual importance and interest which will appear in *The Modern Psychologist* this Fall and Winter. You can get a special five-month trial subscription to *The Modern Psychologist* for $1. Enclose bill, check, or money order, and address to The Modern Psychologist, 310 Riverside Drive, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusions upon what seems to have been an inaccurate report in the New York *Herald Tribune*. We are further informed by Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary of the Socialist Party, New England District, that *The Nation* was in error in predicting a "right" swing in the Socialist Party of Massachusetts. Mr. Lewis writes that the Massachusetts convention elected an executive committee unanimously in favor of the Declaration of Principles adopted at Detroit.—*Editors, The Nation.*]

Prize Essays

To the Editors of The Nation:

Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, is offering three full scholarships for the best essays on the following topics: "The Fight Against War and Fascism," "The Farmer and the New Deal," "The Worker and the New Deal." Winners of the contest may attend Commonwealth free of charge during any quarter of the 1934-35 term. Their room, board, and laundry service will be given in exchange for twenty hours work per week on the college farm-campus.

Essays must be in the mail before September 1. Contestants should be under thirty-five and in fairly good health. Faculty members will act as judges and the awards will be made on the basis of intelligence and interest rather than literary style.

Charlotte Moskowitz, Executive Secretary

Mena, Ark., July 17

Hotel Workers Defense

To the Editors of The Nation:

Your readers were assuredly sympathetic to the cause of the workers of the recent New York hotel strike. Undoubtedly, too, they were outraged by the use of government agencies to break this strike.

May we appeal to these readers and sympathizers now for aid of two victims of the strike struggle—Harold Robins, organizer for the Amalgamated Food Workers Union, and Andre Gras, a striker. Gras was sentenced to from one to two years; Robins to from two to four years, for an alleged assault upon H. Bonnefoux, non-union baker. Both are now in Sing Sing.

There is every reason to believe that these workers were framed. Robins had been repeatedly arrested, on the flimsiest of charges, in connection with his activities during the strike. He was brought before Bonnefoux to be identified as one of his assailants, and Bonnefoux identified him. Yet, the testimony revealed, Bonnefoux knew Robins, had spoken with him prior to the assault. Why, since he allegedly recognized Robins, did he not at once accuse him? The identification of Gras was even more dubious.

The strikers had no occasion to attack Bonnefoux, it was revealed during the testimony. He was a *chef de manger,* and, as such, not eligible for their union. Both suspects had excellent reputations as sober and honest workingmen; both presented alibis. The evidence brought forward by the State, other than the identification by the victims, was of a cloudy and contradictory nature. The Robins-Gras Defense Committee, organized at the request of the prisoners and composed of representatives of various labor and sympathetic organizations, is conducting a fight for appeal. For this fight, money is needed —at once! Contributions may be sent to the Robins-Gras Defense Committee, 22 East 17th Street, Room 731, New York City.

Felix Morrow

New York City, July 13

California R. O. T. C.

To the Editors of The Nation:

Your readers will recall that almost a year ago the United States Supreme Court declined jurisdiction in the case of a conscientious objector to compulsory military training at the University of Maryland. Those of us who were disappointed in the outcome of that case because we believed it raised hitherto unadjudicated questions of Constitutional law are happy to report that a similar case is scheduled for oral argument before the Supreme Court during its coming October term.

The forthcoming case involves two student conscientious objectors who were suspended from the University of California because of their refusal to enroll in the R. O. T. C. Their defense is being briefed by an able Constitutional lawyer from Los Angeles. To finance this litigation a California committee under the chairmanship of Bishop James C. Baker is seeking to obtain funds from supporters on the coast. But additional funds —approximately $2,000—are urgently needed.

A Supreme Court decision in this case will go far toward defining the Constitutional rights of conscientious objectors to the peace-time conscription which prevails in twenty-eight of our civilian secondary schools and ninety-one of our colleges and universities. Basic civil and religious liberties are at stake. Those zealous to safeguard these—all old-fashioned Americans, those of orthodox religious views who believe the realm of conscience should be free from state domination, pacifists, liberals, and radicals alike—are urged to share in financing the defense of these conscientious objectors. Donations may be sent directly to the Reverend John Gabrielson, Box 54, Pacific Palisades, California.

New York City, July 10 Roger Baldwin,

Medical Patents

To the Editors of The Nation:

To one who is acquainted with some of the circumstances which prompt the patenting of discoveries related to matters of health, the undesirability of a protective patent is not as obvious as it appears to be to the writer of the second editorial in *The Nation* of July 18. I have no knowledge of the facts in the patent matter referred to as a bad example, but I do know that the patenting of medical discoveries is prompted at times by motives other than a desire for royalties or personal advantage and profit. Some investigators seek a patent for its licensing power in order to protect the public against the exploitation of the fruit of their research by extortion, quackery, improper and extravagant advertising, and in order to provide, if any income accrues, for continuing research.

I should be inclined to say that a valid criticism against these patents is not the occasional element of profit for an individual, but the diversion of effort and interest on the part of a trained investigator from his fields of scientific investigation to the foreign domain of business necessary in the administration of a patent. Very few discoveries have resulted in financial profit to anyone other than its commercial manufacturer. A well known example of an important medical discovery offering no direct profit to the discoverer but providing funds from a modest royalty for further research is insulin, which is controlled by the Insulin Committee of the University of Toronto, which committee, I understand, issues licenses for the manufacture of insulin under certain conditions of formula, advertising, and price to the public, all aimed to prevent exploitation.

Joseph Turner, M.D., Director, Mt. Sinai Hospital

New York City, July 13

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Music

To a Snake in Eden

By EVELYN SCOTT

I follow the preying, innocent eyes of you,
Nursemaid of loathing,
As you wind your monstrous wish
In the rim of the nest;
And you descend the tree unfuriously,
The young bird's heart already beating
In your iron throat.
Glide on to the next disaster,
You born so forgetful!
You have given horror its home.
You are the very bowels of a thought
Brought hideously to life by sun.
You had sunk your deep fang in my sorrow
Long before we met.
So you who are all incredulity—
—the very shape of unbelief!—
Having wounded a summer,
Slip out of Eden . . .
Purveyors of hospital murders,
Yet comfortable with the grass and silence,
Has faith itself, perhaps, been nourished
By some memory of the wavering pillar of your body
In its liquid stone . . .?

The Log-Book of a Soul

Magpie: The Autobiography of a Nymph Errant. By Lois Vidal. Little, Brown, and Company. $3.

THIS is a psychological self-portrait. When the old masters painted their own portraits they left out the defects; and it yet remains for an artist in that medium to paint himself with blemishes. Among writers the truth is more often told. De Quincey's "Confessions of an Opium-Eater" and Rousseau's "Confessions"—to name only two instances of stark truth-telling among literary artists—have in their time staggered the whole reading world. Lois Vidal seems almost to have done as much with her "Magpie: The Autobiography of a Nymph Errant." Writing under her own name the author tells the story of an intensely romantic and shock-ridden childhood. Just keeping herself this side of insanity, she went to all the excesses to which an unleased imagination can lead one. She *believed* that her brother had dug through to China; she *believed* that her apple-tree life was secret; and she *believed* that her handsome, grown-up cousin was in love with her. The exceptional thing about her is that she formulates these beliefs and the later ones which grew out of them and relates the whole with almost no reserves through a story of 400 pages. The strange adventures which form the main part of the book are the efflorescence of fantastic beliefs such as those to which she gave herself in childhood.

Miss Vidal can write. That much, at least, her family have done for her. "My writing propensities were regarded in the family as symptomatic of disorder, pathological, and in any case to be hush-hushed." She has a masterly way of creating atmosphere. Let it be a dinner-party in the shadow of Queen Elizabeth's old prison at Woodstock, or a pick-up in the pillared lounge of a Montreal hotel, or a maid-servant's choring in somebody or other's kitchen—let it be any scene from Canada to Cannes through which she has passed and with her vivid imagination she can magically restore it for you. A part of the trick is the colloquial style which allows you to see the English girl plodding through foreign and ever more foreign adventures, English to the last. She keeps her accent and her British past as intact as the neat rectitude of her dress. This and other more intangible elements give her an amazing success in the production of atmosphere.

The daughter of an English vicar, the author was born as one of the younger children—perhaps the youngest daughter—in a family of eight. Lois was one of the four only who survived into adult life. The shock of so many deaths and the mental invalidism of her father bore heavily upon her girlhood. Ambition was in the blood. The remaining family moved out to Oxford for the sake of education. There the Great War found them, called Lois forth for war work, and killed her favorite brother. His loss was, as Lois Vidal sees it, the last and final jar to her mental balance wheel. She is probably right. That she could not stick at any job more than a few weeks or months was complicated by an extraordinary compulsion to wander after this. With the failure of each employment she was off at once to some far-distant goal as if constantly and ineffectually seeking. Between jobs she would sometimes retire of her own free will to a mental nursing home for treatment. But most of the time she was on the road, "lorry-hopping" as they say in England, and meeting people in the casual and intimate fashion she calls "clicking." She seldom knew what roof, if any, would shelter her that night. "If you can't be good, be careful," said the English consul in Corsica. She was a sort of combination of George Borrow and Moll Flanders. She went out to her brother in Canada, but it was not with her brother that she stayed while there. Finally landing in the London underworld with a chap named Peter—one of the best portrayals in the book—she lived dangerously near the edge of destruction. From this time on it was very bad: the beach, or a hedge, or a traveling-van received her at night-fall. She had broken away from her family and the only helping hands extended to her now were those of professional social workers. They finally shepherded her into a Salvation Army Home where she surprised everyone by remaining, straightaway and hands down, for thirteen months.

One might deduce from the foregoing that the greatest value of Miss Vidal's book for herself was its catharsis. But it is doubtful whether this was, at any time during the five years she was writing it, her primary motive. She says herself that she began the story in Canada "partly to get it off my chest, partly as a distraction from my loneliness and pain, partly as a literary exercise." But the strictness with which she adhered to her task and the superiority of its standards would indicate that the chest was less important than the literary exercise. One suspects that Miss Vidal has long had literary ambitions. It may be further noted that in the course of the twenty years or thereabouts during which she lived the material of this book, she became a teacher of folk-dancing, a stenographer, a journalist, a teacher of small children, and a cook of sorts. Added to her literary product, these occupations enable Miss Vidal to give a very good account of herself, especially when one considers that months and even years have to be subtracted for the times when she was in the hospital with nervous break-downs.

Miss Vidal speaks once of her disease as an inferiority complex. But there is little psychiatry and less Freud in the book. The author has triumphed over sorrow and disease extraordinarily in the telling of a vivid and enthralling story.

KATHARINE ANTHONY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Facts—and Facts

The United States and the Caribbean Area. By Dana G. Munro. World Peace Foundation. $2.

THIS is official history—an account of our relations with Cuba, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, and the other Central American states, in which the United States appears consistently as a wise, judicious, solicitous, and even altruistic neighbor. The World Peace Foundation, according to the preface, "operates upon the policy that the actual facts concerning international relations and official international cooperation constitute the best possible arguments for lasting peace and improved international understanding."

Of course there is such a thing as emphasis and selection of facts. For instance, Professor Munro succeeds in picturing Machado as a rather benevolent president of Cuba, deprived of electoral opposition by a series of circumstances beyond his control, and gradually forced into repressive measures by his opponents who "staged a series of riots which resulted in loss of life" and made "the situation intolerable . . . by murdering public officials." Facts that Professor Munro might have presented are that Machado not merely stamped out all political opposition in order to perpetuate himself in office, but that he began his killings just 90 days after his accession to power on May 20, 1925. His first victim was Armando André, editor of the paper *El Dia,* which was critical of his policies. The lowest estimate of his victims is approximately 1,000, and they included the finest flower of Cuban youth and of the intellectuals. The retaliation in kind of the A. B. C. did not take place until July, 1932, seven years after Machado inaugurated his terrorism.

Thirty-eight pages, some 13,000 words, are devoted to a chapter on Panama and the Canal. Yet perhaps the most essential fact in the controversy concerning our conveyance of the Canal Zone to ourselves, Professor Munro omits—the testimony of the principal in the acquisition, Theodore Roosevelt: ". . . I took the Canal and let Congress debate."

With the American intervention in Haiti Professor Munro may claim a unique familiarity. He was in the Latin American division of the Department of State from 1921 to 1925, its assistant chief for two years, and from 1930 to the latter part of 1932 United States Minister to Haiti. No man would have a better access to the facts than he. His general attitude of course is the official one: "A state of virtual anarchy in Haiti" necessarily causing "concern to the government of the United States" in consequence of which the Wilson Administration was "endeavoring to put an end to the revolutionary conditions in Haiti as a part of a broad, somewhat idealistic program for the establishment of stable government throughout the Caribbean region." A very different thesis, with which *Nation* readers are generally familiar, is that certain financial interests, in particular those of a group affiliated with the National City Bank which had secured a railroad concession, and those of the bank itself which had bought a part interest in the National City Bank of Haiti and before long was to acquire complete control thereof, were among the strongly motivating factors in our intervention and subsequent performance in Haiti.

When our navy had taken possession of Haiti, had secured the choice of a president who would agree, in advance of election, to sign any treaty the United States might submit, and found subsequently that his cabinet and the two houses of Congress refused to ratify this unexpectedly drastic treaty, Secretary Daniels on August 19, 1915, ordered the seizure of the Haitian customs houses. One of the objectives of this seizure certainly was to compel the Haitians to ratify the treaty. Professor Munro alludes to this episode as follows:

> There was also much opposition to the American intervention in the capital itself and this feeling became more intense at the end of August and the beginning of September when Admiral Caperton took over several of the Haitian customs houses, to prevent the revenues from falling into unauthorized hands and also to provide funds for public works for the relief of unemployment.

Obviously altruistic, our taking over! However, Admiral Caperton later testified that President Dartiguenave had stated on October 3 that "his government was practically without funds to meet the current expenses, the government could not continue and he would be forced to resign." As the Occupation would thereby have lost the relatively compliant president, the Navy Department authorized Admiral Caperton to state that "funds would be immediately available upon ratification of the treaty." (Page 381, Hearings.) The President, however, pointed out that he could not maintain himself in face of the strong opposition to signing the treaty "if the United States Government persists in withholding *all* funds." (Italics mine.) The Admiral thereupon pointed out that pursuant to the department's instructions "not one cent had [has] been turned over to the Haitian government for living expenses" and recommended that under the circumstances "such funds from the customs receipts . . . as he [I] might consider necessary for its support" be turned over to the Dartiguenave Government "in view of the loss of prestige of the United States should that government fall." (Page 383.) On October 5, Secretary Daniels replied:

> You are authorized to furnish Haitian government weekly amounts to meet current expenses . . . question payment back salary will be settled by department immediately after ratification of treaty.

In other words, the seizure of the customs houses was for the purpose of starving the Haitian government into submission and not, as Professor Munro states, "to prevent the revenues from falling into unauthorized hands and also to provide funds for public works for the relief of unemployment."

After the treaty had been secured, which gave not only complete financial control to the United States but pledged the Haitians to settle foreign creditors' claims, Washington deemed it necessary that foreign interests own land in Haiti. The Navy and State Department drew up a new constitution which permitted foreign ownership of land, placed the decisions of the courts martial above that of the Haitian courts, and provided that in the absence of a legislature, a council of state appointed by the President should exercise legislative functions. The Haitian Congress refused to pass the proposed constitution, although it was prepared to pass another draft without the more objectionable clauses.

Professor Munro describes what then took place thus:

> In order to prevent the approval of a constitution different from that on which he had agreed with the Haitian authorities the President dissolved the Congress on June 19. He was supported in this action by the American military authorities and the order of dissolution was delivered by Major Butler, the chief of the constabulary.

What actually happened was that on June 18, General Cole notified Washington:

> Unless contrary instructions received, if necessary to prevent passage proposed constitution I intend dissolve National Assembly *through president if possible, otherwise directly.* (Italics mine.)

General Butler, then acting on orders from General Cole, dissolved the National Assembly.

This picture differs from that presented by Professor Munro, who gives no indication of the pressure brought by the United States authorities and makes it appear that the Presi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent of Haiti was acting on his own initiative, the impression which the United States authorities sought to give at the time.

In describing the "discontent with the American occupation," Professor Munro states that the upper class found their situation more difficult than before 1915 because "with the establishment of strict control over government funds and the expenditure of the revenues on public works and other constructive enterprises, rather than for the sole benefit of the ruling class, it was no longer possible for the majority of this class to expect to obtain a living from the government."

Professor Munro apparently does not give the Haitians credit for the sentiments which would animate any people in seeing foreigners drawing salaries in their own country for government administrative work. Moreover, he does not mention the sad case of Collector Johnson, the American collector-in-chief of customs in Port-au-Prince, the third highest official in the American financial control, who during Minister Munro's incumbency, in collusion with an American importing firm in Haiti, began his peculations which reached well into six figures.

One might continue indefinitely thus to analyze Professor Munro's account. By selection and emphasis, he presents a benignly one-sided picture. That in itself may not be objectionable if the reader is aware of it and balances this book by reading Jenks's "Our Cuban Colony," Knight's "The Americans in Santo Domingo," Denny's "Dollars for Bullets," Buell's "The American Occupation of Haiti," and the reports issued during the last six years on Latin America by the Foreign Policy Association. These last are not tendencious; and they give an example of objectiveness which Professor Munro might well emulate.

ERNEST GRUENING

The Bush Negro of Dutch Guiana

Rebel Destiny. Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. By Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits. Whittlesey House. $3.

THE Bush Negroes of Guiana are a unique people. They are a conglomerate of uprooted African tribes from Dahomey and neighboring regions of West Africa who, brought to the New World as slaves, escaped not only from their Dutch masters but from the fate of their brothers in the rest of North and South America. These Negroes did not lose their cultural identity, they did not take their lowly place in a civilization that neither wanted them nor managed without them. Alone of the Negroes of our continent they managed to shake off the white man's yoke and to keep themselves permanently distinct as a completely self-supporting and self-respecting folk. The old African life is not preserved in its purity, to be sure, nor have the native languages survived as such, but the influence of both is abundantly manifest today and we have the intensely interesting spectacle of a well-adapted Africo-American people which roots solidly in the Old World and has taken on numerous white and Indian traits and grafted them on the persistent Negro base. There is no serious break here between African and American life, only a gradually changing culture between two continents, with an episode of slavery to give acceleration to the change. There are great differences between the relatively primitive life of the Bush Negroes of Guiana and the superficially more civilized ways of the Negroes of the Dutch capital, Paramaribo, but also an underlying unity of sentiment and belief. "The bush," as the authors of "Rebel Destiny" happily put it, "is Africa of the seventeenth century." It combines, therefore, in its present culture a greatly changed Africa with an Africa that is more conservative in many respects than the West Coast of that continent itself. This need not surprise us, for significant culture process can rarely be phrased in terms of simple change or conservatism. In some ways Bush Negro culture is reminiscent of the culture of French Canada. Here too we find an apparently abrupt break with the Old World culture from which it stems, many local adaptations to the new environment, including a not inconsiderable Indian influence, and a strong undercurrent of provincial conservatism. It is to French Canada that one must go for the richest heritage of French folk song we still possess, it is to Negro Guiana that the ethnologist must turn for the reconstruction of the basic beliefs of the West Africa of the past, even though African culture flows on more abundantly and intricately in its proper home than in its offshoot overseas.

The book which Melville and Frances Herskovits offer us out of the fulness of their prolonged experience with Negro cultures, both American and African, is not a scientific record of their field work in the summers of 1928 and 1929 among the Saramacca Negroes of Dutch Guiana. That field work, it is to be expected, will be presented in technical form to the more limited anthropological public later on. Meanwhile the less technically minded reader will turn to "Rebel Destiny" with joy and supreme satisfaction. The writers have done a difficult and delicate task with taste, with an unfailing sense of the relative strategy of incident and description in building up a picture of the daily life of the Negroes, with a truly remarkable blend of the objective and the participating attitudes. Or rather, to speak more accurately, the book is objective throughout—coolly and delightfully so—but the writers attain their objectivity not through a studied aloofness and pretense at non-participation in the life about them, but through a joyous awareness of what was going on, both toward themselves and aside from themselves. The method that they use—for it is indeed a method, however unobtrusively so—is that of a tangential or unwitting accumulation of significant cultural insights through the accidents of personal experience. Nothing is insisted upon as important, nothing is dismissed as trivial. The unflagging enthusiasm of the writers does not exploit themselves or the objects of their study, it burns itself out in the process of observation, and leaves them free to take themselves and their readers into the heart of a culture that is as exotic as you wish and as reassuringly day-to-day as home itself.

This book, then, is neither a formal monograph nor an ordinary book of travel. It has nothing of the grimness of either type of earnestness. And—thank God—it comes back with no steamily subjective news from over there of how to learn to be happy though civilized.

EDWARD SAPIR

German Socialism Still Lives

Socialism's New Beginning. By Miles. The League for Industrial Democracy. 35 cents.

THIS secret manifesto, published under the pseudonym of "Miles" by a left-wing German Socialist, smuggled out of the country, and first published by the émigré party functionaries of Prague whom it violently attacks, is now fortunately available for English and American readers. It is a voice from the grave but it proves that what the Nazis have interred is not really dead. The manifesto is first of all a passionate reaffirmation of Marxist faith and an expression of confidence in the possibility of ultimately establishing a socialist society upon the ruins of fascism. As a declaration of faith it is a symbol of the fact that Nazi terror may have silenced the voices but has not changed the loyalties of the real Marxists of Germany.

The manifesto is, however, something more than a credo.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is a vigorous criticism of the policies of the Communist and Socialist Parties. It holds both parties equally responsible for the destruction of the working-class movement in Germany. The Socialist Party, it declares, departed from true Marxism long before the present crisis and even before 1914. The essence of its apostasy was its confidence in bourgeois democracy. While the manifesto recognizes the values of bourgeois democracy for a developing labor movement it accuses the Socialist Party of having been romantic in its futile effort to preserve this democracy, either as an end in itself or as an ultimate instrument of socialism. In a period of capitalist decline, it asserts, "only dictatorial centralized forms of government can last for any length of time. . . . The only question is whether these states shall be fascist or socialist."

The Communist Party is accused of another kind of romanticism. "Instead of critically analyzing happenings in the working class and in society and their own role therein, they read into the world and into society their own subjective, even if for the most part highly revolutionary, ideas. In so doing they abandon the Marxist methodology (which is materialist) in favor of idealism, that is, subjective idealism." The illusions resulting from such idealism are held responsible for the divisive and sectarian tactics of the Communist Party. Against it the words of Marx, written in 1852, are leveled: "The minority replaces a critical by a dogmatic, a materialist by an idealist outlook. For it mere will-power becomes the driving wheel of revolution instead of actual conditions." The manifesto opposes all sectarian tendencies on the part of left-wing Socialists. It is their business to remain in organic contact with both trade unions and reformist parties so that they will not forfeit their influence among the masses of workers which compose these groups. This is not merely an individual opinion of the authors. It represents the policy of a very considerable group of revolutionary socialists who remained within the Social Democratic Party. There is reason to believe that this entire manifesto is an expression of their views. Nothing is heard of them at the present in Germany because they regard the Communist acts of defiance against fascism as heroic but futile gestures which they do not care to emulate. If they are reforming their lines they are doing so very secretly.

While the policy of the manifesto is described as a purer Marxism than that of either the Communist or Socialist Party, it departs from Marx in one important particular. It does not regard socialism as inevitable and it believes that serious mistakes in strategy are derived from this error. "For Marx and Engels the proletarian revolution was an historical necessity, and all Socialists since that time have taken over this dogma. . . . In reality socialist revolution and socialist remodeling of society are not historically inevitable but are rather a great historical opportunity placed within reach of the human race."

In conformity with this revision the manifesto does not expect an inevitable upsurge of the proletarian masses under the pressure of fascism. But it does expect the inner contradictions of fascism to create new opportunities for the success of the radical movement; and for these it wants to prepare the workers by strengthening their faith and perfecting their revolutionary tactics.

Detailed tactics are not discussed except that Russia is asked to keep hands off. The manifesto regards the activities of the Comintern in the Western world as a total loss and even suggests that the two chief policies of Soviet Russia—the enforced collectivization of the farms and the too rapid expansion of productive equipment, with the resulting lowering of living standards for the Russian masses—as perils to socialism in the Western world. With remarkable self-assurance, it predicts that some of these errors will not be overcome until triumphant Western socialism can teach the Russians a few lessons. This breath-taking lèse majesté will undoubtedly result in gnashing of teeth in all those circles in which Moscow has achieved the authority of an infallible Rome.

"Socialism's New Beginning" is, in short, a document which deserves and will receive a wide reading among those who are interested in revolutionary philosophy and strategy. The fact that it is a statement of faith and an effort to reconstruct strategy coming from men who have borne the heat of the battle in an historic struggle and may possibly be the leaders of an even more important one, gives it added weight.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Shorter Notices

Warpath. By Stanley Vestal. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

In "Warpath" Stanley Vestal has written an extended footnote to his "Sitting Bull." That chief's nephew, White Bull, never attained the fame or eminence of his uncle but from boyhood he exemplified qualities that were the glory of the Prairie Sioux, prowess in warfare and love of it for its own sake. The book was written from White Bull's spoken narrative with verifications as to historical events from military records. It is far less poetic than some of the recent biographies and autobiographies. White Bull had occasional visions, mainly of a highly useful order; he danced the Sun Dance, observed ceremonials, but he was truly himself only on the warpath; his story is harsh, astringent, bold. Now over eighty, he has been signally honored by the whites, particularly at the Semi-Centennial Ceremonies held on the Custer Battlefield. He had taken part at that battle; he may have been the warrior who killed Custer. Since the killing of a great man would enhance his own glory, he amiably hopes that this is true.

The Foreground of American Fiction. By Harry Hartwick. American Book Company. $2.50.

With remarkable and sometimes startling erudition Harry Hartwick has dug about the roots of recent American fiction to study the soil of opinion from which its stories and characters have grown. Not too acute in his treatment of individual novelists, particularly when they fall outside his categories, he barely mentions Elinor Wylie and he entirely misses the comic salt in Erskine Caldwell. He does less than justice to the part played by the Marxian hypothesis in current novels. On the whole he is not so striking in his political or social as in his moral or theological observations. His categories are soundly drawn up but uneven in execution. In Beyond Life he seems to see little difference as to merit between Cabell and Hergesheimer. In New Worlds for Old (Sinclair, Lewis, Dos Passos) he writes raggedly. He is better in Laws as Wings (Howells, Henry James, Edith Wharton, Willa Cather), where there are many cogent things to be said. He is best in The Noble Savage, which learnedly and vigorously traces the course of naturalism from Crane through Norris, London, Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, and Hemingway to Faulkner. Dissatisfied as Mr. Hartwick is with the latest "broncho excesses" of naturalism, he still cherishes its doctrines and believes that it may give up its bad habits and take on good, in a happy fusion of contrasted virtues.

Our Primitive Contemporaries. By George Peter Murdock. The Macmillan Company. $5.

Dr. Murdock has attempted to supply a gap in the literature upon primitive people, the gap between general comparative studies such as those of Fraser and Westermark, in which illustrative materials varying from a sentence to a paragraph are chosen at random from the whole primitive world, and the full-length monograph treatment of different primitive tribes. He has combed the available literature conscientiously and thor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

oughly and produced eighteen monotone miniature pictures in which eighteen primitive peoples of almost inconceivable diversity of social, economic, and religious patterns are treated in compact, comprehensive sketches of approximately the same length and manner. The book is an interesting demonstration of the success with which a concept like "the universal pattern of culture" can be used to blot out differences between simple nomadic people like the Tasmanians and elaborate developments like the Inca civilization. This volume falls rather under the heading of a semi-reference book in which readers may find suggestions which will lead them back to the first-hand material.

Coleridge: Selected Poetry and Prose. Edited by Stephen Potter. The Nonesuch Press. $3.50.

This volume is uniform in format and type of binding with the admirable one-volume editions by the same publishers of the prose and poetry of Blake and of Donne, the selected essays of Hazlitt, and the plays and poems of W. S. Gilbert. Like the Hazlitt volume, it runs to somewhat more than 800 pages, but it is even lighter and more compact. In order to show the many facets of Coleridge's luminous mind, Mr. Potter has presented as wide a range of selections as possible, including samples of political journalism, extracts from the notebooks and the "Aids to Reflection," miscellaneous criticism, "theologico-metaphysical" passages, the letters, and Coleridge's table talk as recorded by various listeners. The poems are printed rather fully, but the prose consists almost entirely of selections. For the most part this arrangement proves to be a happy one, and presents fewer difficulties with Coleridge than with other writers of equal rank, for Coleridge was not only very uneven, and appallingly given to digressions and irrelevancies, but full of repetitions. He had a habit, as Mr. Potter points out, of borrowing constantly from his past works "in the belief, often well founded, that nobody had read them." Yet in an edition of Coleridge of this length, it would probably have been better if Mr. Potter had included the whole of so important a volume as the "Biographia Literaria," instead of the present abridged version.

American Legal Records. Volume 1: Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729. Edited by Carroll T. Bond, with the collaboration of Richard B. Morris. The American Historical Association. $7.50.

This is the first volume of a series launched in 1930 as the result of the cooperation of American legal and historical scholars. It testifies to the growing interest in American colonial law, which until recently remained virtually unexplored. The reception of the English common law after the Revolution withdrew the interest of American jurists in the origins of the native legal system. They followed the opinions of the King's Bench even as American poets imitated English bards in singing of the lark and nightingale. Since the revival of interest in American colonial law the chief focus of dispute has been the extent of its indebtedness to the English common law. While it is generally conceded that in the prerevolutionary generation colonial law was substantially English, opinion is divided with regard to the seventeenth century. One school contends that colonial law bore a close resemblance to English law; another, that it was largely independent and dominated by Biblicism; and still another, that while it was substantially English it was English local rather than common law which was received; for certainly in the seventeenth century the common law was not yet a unified and centralized system but was still struggling against the local jurisdictions. The present volume of court records would seem to support, on the whole, the latter view. The influence of English law is manifest but the practice in Maryland was affected by the provision of the provincial charter which granted to the colony the considerable autonomy of jurisdiction which in the homeland belonged to the county palatine of Durham.

The MOSCOW THEATER FESTIVAL

FOR great dates in the theater, mark September 1 to 10 in Moscow. The brilliant program announced ranges from Borodin, Rossini and Shakespeare to "Intervention" and "The Negro Boy and the Ape". Every one of the productions . . . drama, opera or ballet . . . is of outstanding importance and compelling interest.

Oliver M. Saylor of New York and H. W. L. Dana of Boston, both outstanding authorities on the Soviet theater, will lead separate groups of American visitors to the Festival. Arrangements are being made for those who attend to substitute other current performances in Moscow theaters for those on the official program, if they wish. All-inclusive costs are very low, the entire Festival may be visited for as little as $77 for ten days in Moscow—including tickets.

For detailed information and complete official program write for Theater Festival Booklet NA-8 to

INTOURIST, INC.

U. S. Representative of the Travel Co. of the U.S.S.R., 545 Fifth Avenue, New York. Offices in Boston and Chicago. Or see your own travel agent.

THE POLITICAL QUARTERLY

England's Leading Review

Editors

William A. Robson - Leonard Woolf

Editorial Board

J. M. Keynes - H. J. Laski - Kingsley Martin
Sir Arthur Salter - T. E. Gregory - A. M. Carr-Saunders

Contents for July-September includes

Education for Democracy
by SIR E. D. SIMON

International Democracy
by VISCOUNT CECIL

Socialism in Canada
by SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, K.C., M.P.

The Internal Crisis in France
by PAUL VAUCHER

The New Scheme of Unemployment Relief
by R. C. DAVISON

The Aims of Japan

Published by MacMillan. Specimen copy free from Manager, 52 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1, Eng. Five shillings an issue. Annual subscription One pound (£1). Post free.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

CAMP MILFORD
KENT · CONN.
"MICKEY" MICHAELS DIR.
A Modern Adult Camp in the heart of the Connecticut Hills; on beautiful lake. Every outdoor activity. Splendid entertainment. Congenial fellow guests. Delicious meals.
Weekly Rates—July & August
$27.50 PER WEEK
Special Railroad Rates N.Y., N.H. & H.
Write for Illustrated Booklet and Rates Today
1440 BROADWAY, N.Y.C.
PENNSYLVANIA 6-7842

WHAT'S NEW AT
UNITY HOUSE
FOREST PARK, PENNSYLVANIA
J. HALPERN, *Manager* M. S. NOVIK, *Associate Manager*
N. Y. Office: 3 West 16th Street

A Vacation Message to THE NATION Readers—

UNITY HOUSE offers superb facilities for play and relaxation, and the gala programs featuring many famous artists have become increasingly popular. *Many new facilities this year for* sport and play. $25.50 per week—July and August. Reduction to Union members. Owned by I.L.G.W.U. on non-profit basis.

Always the Finest of Entertainment

Starring such famous artists as TOSCHA SEIDEL, ALLA NAZIMOVA, MOLLY PICON, SIGMUND SPAETH, ISA KREMER, and the HALL JOHNSON CHOIR.

Sound movies showing latest feature pictures. Weekly dramatic presentation, Pinegrove Players.

Forest and Stream Club
An Ideal Adult Camp
IN THE GREEN MOUNTAINS, WILMINGTON, VT.
Four and one-half hours from Grand Central
Sporty 9 hole golf course right on premises.
Complete social and athletic activities.
SEASON RATES $27.50 PER WEEK & UP
Twelve years of highly satisfactory service
55 W. 42nd STREET, N. Y. C. LAckawanna 4-9247

TO BE REVIEWED NEXT WEEK

Fierro Blanco's Rico: Bandit and Dictator
by Constance Rourke

Carl Van Doren's Modern American Prose
by H. L. Mencken

Harold Nicolson's Curzon
by Oswald Garrison Villard

Douglas Reed's Burning of the Reichstag
by Ludwig Lore

Music

"The Most Faustian Art"

HARDLY had Palestrina completed his vast choral weavings, in which many voices humbly intermingle to the glory of God, than the individualistic trends of opera began to manifest themselves. In place of the ensemble of voices, none more self-assertive than the rest, we see the growing importance of the individual role; and at the same time new mechanical devices begin to show their authority in guiding the course of musical speculation. Perhaps the most significant principle of order was established when Bach, writing for the forerunner of the piano, confirmed the theory of "equal temperament" by which the ear was "rectified" in conformity with a logical dictate. Scales of precisely the same intervallic pattern could now be constructed upon any white or black key, and a contrapuntal art could be developed in easily observable systematization. The musician could select some firm sequence of notes, impress them upon the memory, and proceed to carry them through a texture of different keys and harmonic adjustments, with overlappings and transformations of the theme itself. The resultant music could gratify a very essential human concern—the delight with a kind of intricacy which is clearly constructed upon an underlying schema of order.

There followed a century or so in which this general balance of coexistent intricacy and simplicity was observed in one way or another, most notably in the perfection of the sonata form. Gradually, however, a different sort of interest began to gain prominence. If the distinctive trait of the earlier music was formal, the newer trend might be designated in general "psychologistic." With the progressive secularization of music, it had become less and less "congregational," and more and more of a "performer's art." By the time romanticism flowered we had the typical modern situation: the artists providing all the incentives and the audience merely "receiving." Romanticism seems to have attempted to reestablish communication on this new basis by stressing the emotional or passional aspect of music. Now, if one wishes to suggest states of mind—such as longing, anguish, unrest, strangeness, hopefulness—or to depict their external counterparts—such as storms, waves, processions, railway trains, and grotesques—the tonal "logic" is necessarily of a different sort. The earlier formal ideals tend to become not merely unnecessary but even positively obstructive. Perhaps Wagner's use of the *Leitmotif* may be considered the intermediate point between the thematic unity of classical structure and the "unifying mood" of post-Wagnerian impressionism.

Though the romantics generally thought of themselves as freeing music from many stodgy orthodoxies which interfered with complete musical expression, one might rather consider their movement as a definite change in the *aims* of musical expression. It is customary to pick out certain passages from earlier works, to note their "astonishingly modern" quality, and to assume that the composer was "groping" for precisely this quality and would have exemplified it throughout his work had he not been "held back" by the stupidity of his contemporaries. This is to overlook entirely the proportions which the given "modern" quality bore to the work as a whole, and to forget that a musician might have been interested in preserving precisely these proportions. It would be like finding a passage in Shakespeare that suggested Faulkner, and drawing from it the conclusion that Shakespeare was yearning to write "all Faulkner." Might we not rather consider each new "gain in musical freedom" as mere evidence of a change in the purposes to which music was put? Often, for instance, people point to the fact that a work which was once profoundly re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

□ RESORTS □ RESORTS □ RESORTS □

Intimate, colorful, alive! The most complete adult camp in the Adirondacks. Chamber music by the Compinsky Trio and the Perole String Quartet.
Dance Recitals by Pauline Koner and a complete summer stock and try-out theatre in the best Westport tradition.
Private golf course, lake and tennis courts.
Booklet on request.
GREEN MANSIONS
157 WEST 57th STREET
CO. 5-6346
Lena Barish : Sam Garlen
Directors

GREEN MANSIONS
WARRENSBURG N·Y·

MOON HILL on SCHROON LAKE ADIRONDACKS
For A Perfect Adirondack Vacation
HOTEL COMFORTS
Country Club Atmosphere
Golf, Tennis, Riding, Swimming, Etc. Complete Social Staff. Famous Cuisine. (Dietary laws.) Families accommodated.
Write for Booklet "N."
Sarah Solomon, Man. Dir.
Pottersville, Warren Co., N. Y.
N. Y.: 11 W. 42. PEnn. 6-1720

CAMP AMNISQUAM
ABRAM RESNICK
Director
Gloucester, Mass.
Charming UNPRETENTIOUS on picturesque bay at Gloucester—fine spirit, whole-hearted direction. All land and sea sports. *Send for booklet.*

NAPANOCH
COUNTRY CLUB
NAPANOCH, N.Y.
Every Outdoor and Social Activity. Write for Booklet.
Thrilling Entertainment by C.B.S.
New York City Phone: MUrray Hill 4-3802

ZINDOREST PARK
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 300
Formerly a millionaire's estate of 150 acres, beautifully landscaped. Tennis. Handball courts. Swimming, boating, fishing. Many more attractions. Saddle horses on premises. Nearby golf. 1½ hours Erie R.R. or auto. Open all year.

TIMBERLAND
A Modern Camp for Adults
Booklet on Request
33 W. 42nd St.
Penn. 6-7663
The Rare Charm Of An Intimate Congenial Group
August Rate $29.50
Superior Cuisine
Round Trip Fare $8.50 by De Luxe Packards
TIMBERLAND In The Adirondacks
Pottersville, N. Y., Warren County
Esther R. Kessler — Israel H. Kessler

UNCAS LODGE
UNCASVILLE, CONN.
8th SUCCESSFUL SEASON

"Send for Booklet"
A charming, unpretentious, modern adult camp and 165-acre old New England farm. An ideal retreat for lovers of rustic beauty.
- Private Twin Lakes.
- 3 Clay Tennis Courts.
- Saddle Horses and Golf nearby.
- Unexcelled Cuisine.
- Socials, Theatricals, Camaraderie.

AUGUST RATE $25 for 1 week
$48 for 2 weeks
Rate per day, $4.00
Management—DIANA AND ABE BERMAN
Camp Phone: Norwich 1858 Ring 5
New York Phone: NEvins 8-2384—Evenings
DELIGHTFULLY DIFFERENT

WUNNISHAUNTA
Camp for Young Men & Women
ON LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE
QUEEN WHITE MOUNTAIN LAKES
All Modern Camp Features
Sports . . . Dancing . . . Entertainment
Excellent Cuisine
New Low Rates: $22.50 - $25.00 - and $27.50
Write for Booklet
Mrs. Sadie Brickman, Hostess
WOLFEBORO, NEW HAMPSHIRE

WHY NOT
?
pick up your telephone and give us that classified ad for next week's issue? You will reach a group of 20,000 readers of The Nation living in and around New York, besides our readers out of town.
Rates: ½ inch.....$3.08
Additional line of 6 words .62 each
(minimum 3 lines)
THE NATION
20 VESEY STREET COrtlandt 7-3330

ECHO LAKE TAVERN
A Camp for Adults in the ADIRONDACKS
WARRENSBURG N.Y.
AN ADIRONDACK CAMP of the **BETTER TYPE**
Most modern facilities for comfort and sports.
ECHO LAKE TAVERN
Warrensburg, N. Y.
Booklet "N" on Request
City Address: 545 5th Ave. (Room 1109)
VAn. 8-9874

SCAROON MANOR
In the Heart of the Adirondacks
Hotel Comforts. Complete Social Staff
COUNTRY CLUB INFORMALITY
Most Beautiful Summer Resort In America
9 HOLE GOLF COURSE ON PREMISES
NINE CLAY TENNIS COURTS
SIX HANDBALL COURTS
ON SCHROON LAKE, N.Y.
JOS. FRIEBER MGR.-DIR.

BREEZEMONT
A resort of unusual charm set on a huge estate in the Westchester hills—private swimming lake—tennis—all sports. An ideal summer residence for people of good taste. One hour to your office.
Excellent cuisine. Breezemont is managed by Ray Davidson of the old "Russian Inn."
Armonk, N. Y. Armonk Village 555

15th Season
WESTERN VIEW FARM
An Inn unique in its hospitality
On a mountain top only 2½ hours from New York. Rates: $8.00 a day by the day; $7.00 a day by the week; $6.00 a day by the month; $5.50 a day by the season.
Service a la mode Continentale
Address: EDWARD G. OHMER, New Milford, Conn.—Telephone, New Milford 440.
From all over the world comes this Farm's clientele

RED OAKS *Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey*
Golf, riding, tennis, all outdoor activities, 150 acre estate, private lake, beautiful country. Excellent food, spacious house, log fires. Just over the hour from New York by train or auto. Pennsylvania Railroad or Central Railroad of New Jersey to Red Bank or Sandy Hook steamer to Atlantic Highlands pier.
Management: Mascha and Hyman Strunsky
Telephone: Atlantic Highlands 264

COLONY HOUSE
Mohegan Colony, Peekskill, N. Y. On Bronx River Parkway. Lake sports. Commuting distance. Rate $18 weekly, $3.00 day. Families and weekenders accommodated. Tel. Peekskill 2733. Colony bus at station.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sented is now received without a qualm. The usual interpretation of this phenomenon is the assumption that we have now learned how to find our way about in the new music. Yet, *how* have we learned to find our way about? To a large extent, I believe that we have done this by learning to ask different things of a musical structure. If people are no longer "bewildered" by certain modern compositions, this fact need not signify that they have learned how to follow more intricate processes. It may also signify that they no longer attempt to follow these processes at all, tending rather to receive the music simply as a solid body of sound, precisely as they might receive a natural event or a street scene in their actual environment.

One cannot safely fix "first causes" here. One may find extra-musical factors that seem to account for the course which music has taken; or one can explain musical development solely with reference to the theory of music itself. The great influx of different instrumental textures—possibly a reflection of the "machine age" in general—might account for our increasing receptivity to dissonance: a conflict of tones is greatly lessened when these are distributed among various instrumental timbres—quite as three discordant notes would seem less discordant if one were assigned to a bell, the second were sung, and the third were struck on a drum than if all three were sounded by bells. Such freedom, once introduced, could then work by "recoil" to make us more receptive to the notes when sounded by bells alone. Again, it is quite customary to point out the stridencies of the modern city as providing a kind of "economic necessity" for our wider reception of dissonance, and dissonant music is pictured as largely an attempt on the composer's part to invent sounds which can rival in interest the accidental noises of the industrial state. In this respect, musical dissonance would merely be a tame aspect of that same movement which Griffith exemplified when introducing his noise contraptions to work upon our emotions in his "Birth of a Nation." Furthermore, however the drive toward invention and innovation may have originated, it was also doubtless greatly stimulated by the competitive conditions of an "overcrowded" art in an "expansionist" era, the great need for the artist to produce some brand of commodity which might have quick noticeability. Under such conditions, oddity, intensity, and extremity are qualities of much greater "biologic usefulness" than balance, repose, soundness, since they are more "arresting." We should expect at least as much competitive stylization in art as we find in advertising, a tendency to establish "esthetic trade names," as with soaps or automobile designs. We do not speak in a derogatory sense when we note this intrusion of chamber-of-commerce tactics into art. We mean simply that when art is highly centralized, when the artists from a hundred million standardized people must all go to one city, there to outclamor one another or to remain unheard, the natural pieties of art are necessarily confused by demands of salesmanship.

But this brings us to the subject of invention in general—and we must remember that this is the age in which the inventive man, *Homo faber,* has flowered. Surely there is no art which more clearly discloses the laws of progressive invention than "the most Faustian art," music. The slightest acquaintance with even the rudimentary rules of harmony can suggest ways of "extending" the production of sound in new directions. A mere rule of academic avoidance, for instance, is sufficient in the modern mind to suggest the thought: "Why not build a composition by intensely exemplifying the very thing which this rule proscribes?" Or any theory of scales or of harmonic development contains, for even the mildly adventurous, enticing possibilities for the "development of new resources." The main difficulty here seems to arise on occasion from the fact that the fate of production in music has paralleled the fate of production under capitalist industrialism in general: production tended to be isolated as a problem in itself, without sufficient regard for the problems of the "consumer." It is easily possible, by strictly methodical procedure, to erect a texture of sound which could not possibly disclose this same logic to the auditor. For instance: one may take a sequence of notes, invert them, reverse them, invert the reversal, modify the intervals and the rhythmic character, and then have all this going at once, with uneven overlappings—and though the construction may be perfectly methodical, the abilities of the inventive mind have here far outstripped the abilities of the receptive ear. The fields of production and consumption tend to become distinct: the speculative gratifications of the producer must be wholly different from those of the consumer, quite as the inventing of a new refrigerator may be the height of brilliance, but the use of it is 99 per cent bluntness. A kindred issue is notable in the later work of Stein or Joyce.

In any event, we now have available a range of resources so wide that many musicians are deliberately attempting to restore some modern equivalent of the older intricacy-simplicity combination. At precisely the moment when music had established its ability to wail, curse, convulse, exult, long, moon, and sorrow, we note the hankering after a principle of order somewhat like that prevailing in the eighteenth century . The issue is not clear, nor have the solutions been wholly promising, particularly as the "order" is sought precisely in those regions of sound and rhythm which would have thoroughly symbolized disorder at the time of the earlier classicism. Again, the texture of our sciences and business has been so thoroughly romantic as to suggest that neo-classicism itself is but a misnomer for one of the romantic schools. Even those who would complete the rationalization of the state are the arch-romantics of politics: the communists. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the aspects of modern life which really do contain something of "classical regularity"—such as standardization of "needs," railroad schedules, radio broadcasting, newspaper distribution, investors' graphs, and the prompt appearance of the gas bill—seem to have detracted from rationality much of the lure as human guidance which it must have had in earlier eras, before it was quite so generally embodied in the economic plant. Hence, even the "classical" phases of our living seem to call for a romantic antidote, as artists seek to provide greater and greater quixoticism for those who, despite all the upheavals now upon us, still move in a state of external quietude that permits and demands the maximum of internal agitation if they are to "be alive."

KENNETH BURKE

Contributors to This Issue

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD is San Francisco correspondent of the Federated Press.

HAROLD M. GROVES, former member of the Wisconsin legislature and the Wisconsin Tax Commission, is professor of public finance at the University of Wisconsin.

WALTER WILSON is the author of "Forced Labor in the United States."

EVELYN SCOTT is the author of "The Wave," "Breathe Upon These Slain," and other volumes.

KATHARINE ANTHONY is the author of "Catherine the Great," and "Queen Elizabeth."

ERNEST GRUENING, formerly an editor of *The Nation,* has recently been in Cuba as a member of an investigatory commission of the Foreign Policy Association.

EDWARD SAPIR is Sterling professor of anthropology and linguistics at Yale University.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at the Union Theological Seminary, is the author of "Reflections on the End of an Era."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED